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The Development of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*

By GEORGE B. PARKS

THE confusion of place names in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* is generally recognized. No indications of place are given in the scene headings of the sole text, that of the First Folio, or in the list of characters. Since Theobald, editors have agreed that the action begins in Verona, continues in Milan, and ends on the "frontiers of Mantua" — that is, the frontier between Milan and Mantua. Many references in the play to places are, however, inconsistent with this geographical scheme.

Nothing in the supposed Verona scenes identifies that city, and nothing in the later scenes indicates that the characters came from Verona. Indeed, only the title of the play warrants the use of the name. It is true that Valentine, banished from the court, tells the outlaws (IV, i, 16–19) that he is leaving Milan for Verona; but he does not say, or imply, that Verona is his home. Moreover, his remark conflicts with the statements of Silvia (IV, iii, 23) and her father (V, ii, 47), that he has gone to Mantua.

Nothing in the Milan scenes identifies the city. On the contrary, the only place references in these scenes identify it otherwise. In one of them, Speed welcomes Launce to Padua (II, v, 2). In another, the Duke refers to his city as Verona (III, i, 81). Valentine also refers to the Duke's country and city as Verona (V, iv, 129). Indeed, Milan is

justified by only two references in the entire play. One is Valentine's opening remark to Proteus (I, i, 57), that he is bound for Milan. The other is Valentine's remark to the outlaws, which has already been mentioned, that he has been banished from Milan. The news of his arrival at "the emperor's court" (I, iii, 27) is inconclusive, because no place is specified. Julia does not mention the destination of her journey (II, vii).

In sum, the title, mentioning Verona, and two references to Milan, are the whole basis for the map of the play as it is customarily drawn, and the many discrepancies are usually considered errors. But there are more errors than truths. In addition to the specific errors already mentioned, serious mistakes occur in the references to travel. Valentine and Proteus, in turn, leave Verona for Milan by water. This is a possible but hardly a likely route. Milan is 90 miles west of Verona by direct road. The water route would be a circuitous one of some 200 miles — that is, it would run southeast down the Adige River, south by canal to the Po near Ferrara, west by the Po to Cremona, northwest by the Adda River and the Milan Canal to Milan.[1] This route would be comparable to that of an Englishman going from London to Bristol, or even beyond to Bath, by way of the English Channel. Valentine might perhaps take this leisurely way, but not Proteus, whose companions were traveling direct.

Another travel difficulty occurs in the last act. Valentine has set out from Milan into exile. He needed only to go some fifteen miles east to reach Venetian territory (as it was from 1428 onward), following the Verona road. Silvia and the Duke, however, understand that he has gone to Mantua, the road to which would run southeast instead of east (though it is true that he might reach Mantua by the somewhat longer Verona road). But the frontiers of Mantua were

[1] See Sir Edward Sullivan, "Shakespeare and the Waterways of North Italy," *Nineteenth Century*, 1908, II, 215–32; and compare the water routes followed by Sir Rycharde Guylforde in 1506 (Camden Society, LI [1851]; reprint of original edition of 1511), and by Richard Torkyngton in 1517 (ed. W. J. Loftie [1884]).

Sullivan notes actual journeys by water from Ferrara to Mantua, and return; from Bologna to Ferrara; from Venice by sea and up the Adige to Roveredo, above Verona. Torkyngton shipped down the Po from Pavia (which he had reached by horse from Milan) to a point beyond Ferrara, thence by canal to the Adige, and down to the sea. Guylforde's party embarked farther upstream, at Alessandria, and thence followed Torkyngton's route.

always at least 70 miles from Milan,[1] and there would be no reason at all for Valentine to go that far (unless, to be sure, we are back in the days before 1428, when the territory east of Milan was not yet Venetian). In any case, there is no sign that Silvia and her father travel 70 miles, a journey of several days, to overtake Valentine. It may be answered that Shakespeare did not know his map very well, though I do not think he would confuse Mantua with Verona. But the modern editor should be better informed. The modern stage direction for the last scene, "The frontier near Mantua," is clearly in error.

In view of all these confusions, it might be well to discover what the text actually says. Disregarding the modern scene headings, I note the following place indications in the play. In I, i, Valentine leaves an unspecified place for Milan. In I, iii, he has arrived at an unspecified emperor's court, not necessarily at Milan, whither Proteus is to follow him. Both travel by water, though Julia seems to follow them by land (II, vii). The title of the play supposes that their starting point is Verona. Their travel is clearly meant to be from Verona to Milan, though by a highly unlikely route.

But when the travelers have arrived at their destination, they are not in Milan after all. In II, v, the place is Padua. In III, i, it is Verona. Granted that Valentine calls it Milan when, in IV, i, he has left it for Verona, yet in IV, iii, Silvia plans to follow him to Mantua, and she is presumably then in nearby Verona (22 miles from the city of Mantua), not in Milan. In V, ii, the Duke also plans to follow to Mantua, presumably also from Verona. In V, iv, the characters are assembled in a forest in the Duke's territory, which Valentine now calls Verona. This is mere confusion, caused by the two references to Milan. The basic scene, the court of the Duke, is clearly Verona.

The confusion will not, I think, be resolved by any appeal to historical geography. Verona had been a dukedom in the past, as in the time of Romeo and Juliet (*circa* 1300), but it had been subject to Venice since 1405, except for seven years following its seizure by Maximilian I in 1509. I do not know that Maximilian had ever held his imperial court there. Padua had had, since 1405, approximately the same masters as Verona. Mantua had been an independent mar-

[1] See Coryat's *Crudities* (1905 ed.), I, 254–61, for his journey from Milan to Mantua.

quisate before 1530, and an independent duchy thereafter. Milan had been a generally independent dukedom until 1535, when it was absorbed by Charles V and added to the territory of Spain. In his time, it might have been his fleeting residence on one of his Italian journeys. Since 1555 it had belonged to Philip II, who bore the title of Duke of Milan, as did jointly his wife, Queen Mary of England.

Either Verona or Milan might, then, have been carelessly associated with either a duke or an emperor. A duke of Verona would be long out of date, to be sure, while the duchy of Milan would be for Shakespeare a contemporary fact. On the other hand, Verona was (or was soon to be) familiar to Shakespeare, in the Romeo and Juliet story, as a onetime duchy.

Given these data, are we to say that the play is merely careless? The editors imply as much; and Sir Edmund Chambers concludes: "Apparently Shakespeare at first meant the main action to be at an emperor's court at Milan; then altered it to a duke's court at Verona."[1] But this explanation is hardly adequate. Sir Edmund should say that Shakespeare first meant the main action to be at Milan, then at an emperor's court, then at Verona, then at Milan again, and finally at Verona. These are clearly too many changes for even the most hurried and careless playwright. The bulk of the place references in the play supposes that Verona is the main scene. A simpler theory than Chambers' would admit this fact, and infer that the references to Milan were inserted rather than original. How and why were these insertions made?

Professor Dover Wilson[2] blames an abridger or reviser for many of the ills of the play, and we might likewise ascribe to this scapegoat the references to Milan. What would be his object in inserting them? Possibly he was concerned about a duke of Verona, preferring, as more up-to-date, a duke, or an imperial court, of Milan. Whatever his motive, the author of the insertions must have had before him an original play in which the main scene was Verona, and the earlier

[1] *William Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1930), I, 330.
[2] *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (Cambridge, 1921).

scene some other city. This earlier city may perhaps have been Mantua, or indeed almost any other northern city on a river or canal — Bologna, or Ferrara, or Milan, or possibly Venice. But it would still have been more convenient to go from any of them (except Venice) to Verona by land than by water: the travel route remains a difficulty.

A greater difficulty is that the earlier play must have been called, not *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, but *Two Gentlemen of Mantua* (or of whatever city it was). It seems doubtful that a mere reviser would have been so drastic as to change the title, which we know from Meres was fixed by 1598. In any case, we have no way of determining whether the title was in fact changed. We may therefore dismiss as unprovable the theory that a mere reviser inserted the two lines which change the main scene from Verona to Milan.

We might, perhaps, fall back on Professor Wilson's idea about the composition of the text: that it was assembled from the lines of the individual actors with the help of a stage "plot." We should then infer that the actors' parts had been unevenly revised — some, like the Duke's part, reading "Verona" consistently, and one, that of Valentine, reading "Milan." But it is Valentine who, in the last scene, reads "Verona," and whose lines therefore could not have been completely altered. The confusion must lie deeper, and the revision, awkward though it was, must have involved more than two changes in Valentine's part. We have still to explain a play which moves the characters from Verona to Milan, only to have them arrive at Verona: none of these theories reaches very far in accounting for this fundamental confusion.

One may try out another theory: that originally the scene of the play was Verona throughout, and that the travel matter, which required two cities instead of one, was an addition.

To approach this theory, it is necessary to trace the play back to its sources or models. The play is built of two stories, which, as Professor Campbell has shown,[1] are conventional in Italian drama. The

[1] "*The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and Italian Comedy," in *University of Michigan Publications: Language and Literature*, I, 49–63.

main plot is the love-and-friendship story involving Valentine, Proteus, and Silvia, and including also a third rival, Thurio, and a second lady, Julia. This story, like its parallel in the Italian play *Flavio Tradito*, requires no change of scene, which would be Verona throughout. The other and briefer story is that of the female page. Here, again, no travel would normally be involved. There is none in *Gl'Ingannati*, one of the Italian parallel plays, or in *Il Ritratto*, or, for that matter, in Shakespeare's own *Twelfth Night*. As a matter of course, Italian drama would not shift the scene at all. But the tale which provides the closest parallel to the Julia story, the Felix and Felismena episode in Montemayor's romance *Diana*, does mention travel, though without describing it, and may have given Shakespeare the idea of having the woman follow the man to a distance, rather than, as in *Gl'Ingannati*, take service with him in their home city.

There is no knowing how Shakespeare worked in combining these two stories. But it is obvious that both the Valentine and the Julia stories are curtailed. Though several scenes of Act I show the beginning of Proteus' wooing, his winning is not portrayed. Later, the scenes which Julia plays as page with Proteus are slight — both the one of her hiring and the one of her final discovery. Indeed, her only adequate scene as a page is that of her encounter with Silvia.

The story of Valentine is likewise cramped, since he is given only one wooing scene with Silvia. His first meeting with her, his winning of her, and their planning of the elopement are all omitted. To be sure, Proteus' wooing of Silvia, because of its greater interest, may have been permitted to crowd out Valentine's own courtship. But there was plenty of room in the play for both their courtships, and for the Julia story as well.

Making all allowance for the extent to which the text of the play may have been abridged, one must observe that a main cause of this compression of the principal stories is the amount of space given to the preparations for travel. First Valentine departs; then Proteus is ordered to leave; next Launce prepares to leave; then Proteus leaves Julia; and finally Julia plans to follow. Altogether, the departures are given an emphasis disproportionate to their value, and corre-

spondingly increase the speed with which the more important scenes are hurried through.

These facts about the course of the play may simply mean that Shakespeare wrote it that way. But, if he missed the proportions in his somewhat choppy development, why did he confuse the places? The many departure scenes would surely keep him reminded of whence and whither. Shakespeare would not be so careless as to forget where all the travelers were going. It seems far simpler to believe that he added the travel after he had already sketched, and perhaps written, the story without travel.

Further proof of the confusion is found in the large number of scenes — seven — in Act II. This is rather surprising in an early Shakespearean play. Arranging the comedies in the probable order of writing, one finds that *The Comedy of Errors* has two scenes in Act II; *Love's Labour's Lost*, one; *The Taming of the Shrew*, one; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, two; *Much Ado about Nothing*, three; while only the complex *Merchant of Venice* has nine.

Altogether, the uneven and somewhat awkward joining of the two plots of the play lends color to the idea of a reconstruction. That is, the play may originally have been a faithless-friend play, the scene Verona — to which, at some stage in its history, was added the female-page story, with its element of travel. Possibly the play was actually finished in the simpler form. In that case one might suppose an original straightforward exposition, on the Italian model, with hypothetical scenes as follows in the first two acts (the clown scenes are not included):

*I, i Proteus' wooing of Julia explained in a friendship scene with Valentine, and in a scene with Launce concerning the letter (a fuller version of the present I, i);

*I, ii Julia and the letter (the present I, ii);

*I, iii Valentine meets Silvia (a scene not in the present play);

*II, i Proteus' successful wooing, and his departure for the (local) court (the present II, ii, but fuller);

*II, ii Valentine and Silvia, with the letter (the present II, i);

*II, iii Proteus meets Silvia (the present II, iv, vi); Valentine and Silvia plan an elopement (a scene not in the present play).

How much would the author have had to change an original faithless-friend play, beginning as above, in order to add a female-page story as he got it from the *Diana* (or an intervening play), and to add the travel matter? One may easily list the hypothetical additions.

In I, i, some 30 lines concerning travel would have been added to the discussion of love between Valentine and Proteus. The next scene, of Julia and the letter from Proteus, need not be new, even though it derives from the *Diana*: it has no reference to the disguise story, and (as will be shown presently) is written in an older style than that of the hypothetical new scenes. The third scene, in which the father of Proteus arranges for the latter's departure, would be new as involving travel — 91 lines. Act II, scene ii, Proteus' leave-taking, would be new (or much changed or cut) — 21 lines. The following scene, Launce's leave-taking, would be new — 61 lines in prose. Act II, scene vii, Julia's preparations for departure, would be new — 90 lines. The second scene of Act IV would require the addition of the lines of Julia and the host at the serenade — 47 lines of prose, 5 lines of verse in asides. Act IV, scene iv, Julia and Proteus, and Julia and Silvia, would be a partly new scene — 144 lines. Scene ii of Act V adds 7 lines of asides by Julia (perhaps spoken originally by Speed). Act V, scene iv, adds 38 lines to the denouement. An occasional line or two would be inserted here and there.

In the aggregate, then, the Julia travel story would add five new scenes, of which all but one are short (I, iii; II, ii, iii, vii; IV, iv), 417 lines in all; and insertions in four scenes (I, i; IV, ii; V, ii, iv), 127 lines. This makes 544 lines altogether, as compared with some 1,700 lines in the rest of the play (in the American Arden text). Most of the additions are incidental or preparatory; only one, Julia's scene with Silvia, can be called a developed scene. None of the additions would seem to affect the course of the main story, that of the faithless friend.

Style tests afford a little help for this theory. A count of the actual verse lines in the play, disregarding prose, yields the following figures for two metrical peculiarities, run-on lines and feminine endings (following the American Arden text):

			Total Number of Verse Lines	Run-on Lines Number	Run-on Lines Percentage	Feminine Endings Number	Feminine Endings Percentage
I:	i	Valentine's farewell	82	9	11	5	6
	ii	Julia-Lucetta	126	10	8	5	4
	iii	Proteus and father *	89	18	20	18	20
II:	i	Silvia-Valentine	39	4	10	9	23
	ii	Julia-Proteus *	18	3	16	2	11
	iv	Valentine-Silvia-Proteus	166	36	22	39	24
	vi	Proteus' soliloquy	43	11	25	9	21
	vii	Julia on departure *	90	22	24	17	19
III:	i	Valentine exposed	242	36	15	55	23
	ii	Proteus' plot	98	17	16	17	16
IV:	i	Outlaw scene	76	7	9	10	13
	ii	The serenade	74	12	16	13	17
	iii	Silvia-Eglamour	46	8	17	6	13
	iv	Julia as page *	147	20	14	34	23
V:	i	Silvia-Eglamour	12	1	8	2	16
	ii	Proteus-Thurio-Duke	26	4	15	3	12
	iv	Denouement	163	26	16	29	18
Total			1537	244	15.7	273	17.6
Total in "new" scenes			344	63	18.3	71	20.6

* Hypothetical new scenes.

While these tests do not seem important for individual scenes, the final summary appears to show that the "new" scenes consistently exhibit the later style devices of Shakespeare. It is only fair to point out that II, iv, and III, i, also show late characteristics. In sum, the metrical tests do not condemn the theory of a structural revision of the play.

It is true that the additions contain the fantastic river voyage, an error which cannot be explained away. But on any theory this voyage would be an error. If the two gentlemen had originally come from Mantua, say, or Ferrara, to Verona, the water route would be equally unlikely. It can only be supposed that in the reconstruction the characters had to be moved, and Shakespeare's "little learning" was probably content with the knowledge (which has not been shared by all his editors) that Lombardy was crossed by many water routes. If Shakespeare thought the Italian rivers were tidal (II, iii), he may

well have been ignorant of their exact courses. This voyage route nonetheless remains an obstacle to the theory here presented.

The conclusions of the present study are as follows:

(1) The place designations of modern editors may well mark the easiest way out of the confusions of the play. They do not, however, evade the difficulties arising from the references to Verona instead of Milan, to Mantua as a nearby refuge from Milan, and to an unlikely river voyage from Verona to Milan. In any case, for consistency, the editorial location of IV, i, V, iii, and V, iv, on "The frontiers [of Milan] near Mantua" ought to be replaced by "A forest near Milan."

(2) The explanation by Sir Edmund Chambers is not very satisfactory, since it implies that Shakespeare intended to place the ducal court first in Milan, then in Verona, then in Milan again, and finally in Verona. The numerous departure scenes would suffice to keep the playwright's mind on his map.

(3) A theory based on Professor Wilson's study of the play would suppose that the two gentlemen were not originally of Verona but of some other city, and that the main scene of the play was Verona throughout; and, further, that someone (Shakespeare or a reviser) had at some time inserted, in two scenes, lines fixing the court at Milan. This theory is not untenable, but it still leaves much unexplained. It does not identify the original city of the two gentlemen. Furthermore, it requires an earlier title for the play, which is possible but not warranted by any evidence.

(4) The present hypothesis is that the travel element, together with the consequent changes in scene, was an addition to a play which originally was settled throughout at Verona. This travel element was supplied by the Felix-Felismena story, which I infer was the source of the Julia-as-page story added to an original faithless-friend play.

Such an addition required the writing of five new scenes, mostly short, and of insertions in four other scenes. These interpolations perhaps replaced earlier scenes which had told more fully the Valentine-Proteus story, but they were hardly sufficient to give the Julia story adequately. Style tests tend to show that the hypothetical new scenes could have been written later than most, though not all, of the original scenes. It is true that the travel route laid down is unlikely,

but I can conceive of no theory which would explain that. In general, the hypothesis seems otherwise to account for the confusions of place in the play, and for a number of the awkwardnesses.

In order to keep the original title, the place in which the revised action starts was left unnamed. At some time, however, two references to Milan were inserted to give a haphazard sort of direction to the travels. But the revisions, perhaps done hastily, were not carried through to make the scenes consistent.

I do not attempt to draw from the verse tests any conclusion as to the date of the additions to the play.

Wit's Bedlam of John Davies of Hereford

By LAMBERT ENNIS

THE vogue for writing satirical epigrams, which began in the last decade of the sixteenth century with the *Epigrams* of Sir John Davies, reached its peak between 1604 (when the ecclesiastical ban against satire became less stringent) and 1621.[1] One of the least-known and yet most interesting of the books of epigrams that appeared in those years is *Wit's Bedlam*, which was published anonymously and now exists in a unique copy with the following title-page:

WITS / BEDLAM, / Where is had, / *Whipping-cheer, to cure the Mad.* / The Booke. / *Those* Epigrams *faine would I owe,* / *Where euery Word, is a Word and a Blow.* / Reprofes, where they are Well deseru'd; / *must be Well paide.* / At London / Printed by G. Eld, and are to be sould / by *Iames Davies*, at the Red Crosse / nere Fleete-streete *Conduit.* / 1617.

[1] For that period it is possible to list the following collections consisting wholly or largely of satirical epigrams in English: J[ohn] C[ooke], *Epigrames Served Out in 52 Several Dishes* (1604); [anon.] *Humor's Antique Faces* (1605); Henry Parrot, *The Mous-trap* (1606); Richard Turner, *Nosce Te* (*Humors*) (1607); Henry Peacham, *The More the Merrier* (1608) [originally attributed to Henry Parrot; the correct attribution, to Peacham, was established by Margaret C. Pitman in *The Modern Language Review* (XXIX, 129–36)]; Richard Middleton of York, *Epigrams and Satyres* (1608); R. W[est], *Wits A.B.C. or a Century of Epigrams* (1608); H[enry] P[arrot], *Epigrams* (1608); Roger Sharpe, *More Fooles Yet* (1610); John Heath, *Two Centuries of Epigrammes* (1610); John Davies of Hereford, *The Scourge of Folly* (1611); John Taylor, *The Sculler* (1612); Henry Parrot, *Laquei Ridiculosi: or Springes for Woodcocks* (1613); William Gamage, *Linsi woolsie, Or Two Centuries of Epigrammes* (1613); Thomas Freeman, *Rubbe And A Great Cast* and *Runne And A Great Cast* (1614); Richard Brathwaite, *A Strappado for the Divell* (1615); Richard Niccols, *The Furies With Vertues Encomium* (1614); John Taylor, *The Nipping or Snipping of Abuses* (1614); William Goddard, *A Mastif Whelp with other ruffiland-like Currs fetcht from amongst the Antipedes* (*ca.* 1615); *idem*, *A Neaste of Waspes, Latelie Found out and discovered in the Low-Countreys* (*ca.* 1615); Henry Parrot, *The Mastive, or Young-Whelpe of the Olde-Dogge* (1615); Sir John Harington, *Epigrams* (1615); Ben Jonson's *Epigrams* in his First Folio (1616); John Davies of Hereford, *Wit's Bedlam* (1617); Henry Fitzgeffrey, *Satyres and Satiricall Epigrams* (1617); Henry Hutton, *Follie's Anatomie: or Satyres and Satyricall Epigrams* (1619); J[ohn] H[eath], *The House of Correction: or Certayne Satyricall Epigrams* (1619); Joseph Martyn, *New Epigrams*

The book was successively in the Bindley, Perry, Heber, Christie-Miller, and Clawson collections, and finally came to the Huntington Library.[1]

Although *Wit's Bedlam* is unsigned, its authorship can be ascribed, on almost irrefutable grounds, to the writing master, John Davies of Hereford, whose signed collection of epigrams, *The Scourge of Folly*, had been printed in 1611. When A. B. Grosart edited the works of Davies of Hereford, he professed himself unable to locate a copy of *Wit's Bedlam* [2] and had to content himself with copying extracts from, and statements about, it that had appeared in *The British Bibliographer* [3] and *Restituta*.[4] He also noted that Edmond Malone, in his *Variorum Shakespeare*,[5] had alluded to an epigram, in *Wit's Bedlam*,[6] in which Davies discussed the practice of deer stealing as a youthful prank of the Elizabethan gallant. Malone had utilized the epigram as evidence that Shakespeare's reputed poaching of deer involved no grave moral stigma.

Davies's authorship of *Wit's Bedlam* has never been in serious doubt. First of all, there is the evidence of the epigram, commented on by Malone,[7] Haslewood,[8] and Grosart,[9] which Davies addressed to his native city of Hereford[10] — an epigram, moreover, that closely parallels one in *The Scourge of Folly*[11] and another in the poems

and a Mad Satyr (1619); Sir Thomas Wroth, *The Abortive of an Idle Hour* (1620); [anon.] *A Description of Love with Epigrams* (1620); Henry Peacham, *Thalias Banquet Furnished with newly devised Epigrammes* (1620); and John Ashmore, *Certain selected Odes of Horace Englished with epigrammes* (1621). This list, which is in no sense intended to be definitive, has been examined and supplemented by Professor Hoyt Hudson, of Princeton University, to whom I am indebted for many suggestions. His definitive bibliography of the Elizabethan epigram has not yet been published.

[1] It is entered in the *Short-Title Catalogue* (No. 6343) as in the Clawson collection.

[2] *The Complete Works of John Davies of Hereford*, ed. A. B. Grosart ([Edinburgh] 1878; in "Chertsey Worthies' Library"), II, *n*, p. 2. The works in this collection are paginated separately, and all references to them, in the present paper, will, as in this case, employ the italicized-letter designations used by Grosart in his table of contents.

[3] By Sir Egerton Brydges and Joseph Haslewood (1812); II, 262–65.

[4] By Sir Egerton Brydges; III (1815), 453–55.

[5] Ed. James Boswell (1821); II, 134.

[6] No. 93.

[7] *Loc. cit.*

[8] *British Bibliographer*, II, 264.

[9] *Loc. cit.*

[10] Sig. K 4.

[11] No. 281.

prefaced to Davies's *Microcosmos: The Discovery of the Little World* (1603).[1]

Furthermore, *Wit's Bedlam* contains two epigrams [2] which reveal that the author made his living by the same profession as Davies's — that of writing master. In addition, one of the epigrams [3] proves that the author had already published a successful and popular volume of the same type. Finally, there is a veiled allusion to *The Scourge of Folly* in the phrase, "To Scourge the *Follyes*," in the prefatory verses to *Wit's Bedlam*:

> Be quiet *Wit*, leaue beating of my Braine
> To do the *Worke* of playing but on *Crimes*:
> To Scourge the *Follyes* of the World is vaine,
> If thy Whips Lines be nought but rotten *Rymes*.[4]

Wit's Bedlam has little or no literary value. It is a characteristic piece of hack work, full of the usual stale references to traditional social types — gallants, usurers, quack doctors, cuckolds, bawds, and harlots. The number of instances of indecency might well stamp the book as the lewdest of all Jacobean collections of epigrams. But by 1617 the epigram had become almost synonymous with the pornographic anecdote, and the epigrammatist was expected by his readers to supply old-fashioned bawdry rigged out in new shapes. In the poems prefaced to *The Scourge of Folly*, Davies had written:

[1] *Complete Works*, ed. Grosart, I, *c*, p. 6.

[2] No. 9, "*Against Gaulus the writing-country Schole-master*":

> *Gaulus*, thou writ'st thy selfe my *scholer*; and
> Thou saist thou dost it Scholers so to get:
> But, for thine owne, thou still dost shew my hand:
> So, thou deal'st plaine, thou canst not Counterfet.

No. 311:

> *Clerus*, of me, would needs be taught to write:
> But I was loath for feare his Purse was light. . . .

[3] No. 213:

> As at a *Stationr's* Shop I stood, at gaze,
> There chanst to light a *Wag-taile* (light as fine)
> And ask'd for *Epigrams* in Caged Phraze:
> Wherewith the *Shop-man* foorth-with shew'd her mine.
>
> And good they be, or else good Wits mistake.

[4] Sig. A 4.

The *Printer* praies me most vncessantly,
To make some *lines* to lash at *Lechery*:
For that (sayth he) so rellish will the rest,
That they will sell, and still be in request:
For most men now (set on a merry Pin)
Laugh to see others plagued for their sin:
Then, Reader, thinke when thou seest such a Straine,
Its for the Lechers *paine, and* Printers *gaine.*[1]

In *Wit's Bedlam*, he pleads guilty to the same offense, but tries to vindicate himself by a still more trite excuse:

A friend of mine reproud me, sith I was
Too Busie in correcting *Lechery*;
Saying I was too open. But, alasse,
I cannot helpe it handsomly; for I
Must, ere I scourge it, open it (you know)
That I my ierkes the righter may bestow.[2]

In spite of Davies's adherence to conventional themes, he makes an honest attempt to be original when he arrives at the point of an epigram, and he castigates writers who were less conscientious in this regard.[3] He seems never to have borrowed from others, but he continually rehashed subjects used in *The Scourge of Folly*, as has been twice illustrated by quotations. This habit reached its climax when he perpetrated in both works the *faux pas* of juxtaposing commendatory epigrams to Inigo Jones and Ben Jonson.[4] Davies's action was

[1] Sig. A 3^{v}. [2] No. 339. [3] See the two epigrams, both numbered 353, on sig. I 3^{r} & ^{v}.

[4] None of the four epigrams is identical. See *Complete Works*, ed. Grosart, II, *k*, Nos. 156, 157; also *The Jonson Allusion-Book*, ed. J. F. Bradley and J. Q. Adams (New Haven, 1922), pp. 81, 100 f. The epigram (sig. K 2^{v}) from *Wit's Bedlam* on Inigo Jones is reprintd in full, since it is the only one of the four not generally accessible:

Wits mirrour, *Inigo*, wherein Men see
Their *Figure;* which thou dost to them reflect
By *forming*, or, to them, *conforming* thee:
For which thou win'st both *riches* and *respect*:
Fortune and *Fauour* with great *Art* conspir'd,
To make thee *Modell* out each *Edifice*
Ere it be squar'd for *Court*; which thee hath *Squird*;
And may doe, *SIR*, for many a rare *Deuice*!
Thy Place I wish not; but thy wakefull Wits,
To make my Place fit mee, as thine thee fits:
Then, lend me, while thou sleepst, thy pure *acumen*
To Knight me (old Boy) after many *New-men.*

natural in view of the affiliation of the two men in the public eye, yet Jonson's pleasure in reading the epigram — if he ever read it — must have been vitiated by finding himself in such close company with a detested rival.

The most interesting selections in *Wit's Bedlam*, for the purposes of the present paper, are those containing allusions — apparently hitherto unrecorded — to Chaucer, Nashe, and Bacon. Miss Spurgeon has quoted briefly [1] two Chaucer allusions from *The Scourge of Folly*. The more noteworthy is that which reflects the Elizabethans' attitude toward Chaucer as the sage of a ruder epoch, who was outspoken to a greater degree than themselves in calling a spade a spade:

> *Clauis* hath wed a Wife but for the *Bed*,
> And she hath matcht with him but for the *Borde*,
> And so, for seuerall *Ends* sith they were wed,
> They seu[e]rall curtesies to each affoord:
> *Yet she* (*the Border*) *loues to bourd or iest*,
> (*Or as Sir* Chaucer *tearmes it*) *with the best*.[2]

The epigram in *Wit's Bedlam* that alludes to Chaucer uses the verb "jest" as a euphemism for carnal intercourse, and again Davies says, parenthetically, that Chaucer would have used a plainer term:

> *Friscus* in secret, iested with a Lady,
> (Which *iesting Chaucer* far more broadly stiles)
> Who, fearing fainting, call'd him *Foole* and *Baby*;
> But he with iesting plide her all the whiles:
> Then, if she call'd him foole, she did not fable:
> For, fooles are euer iesting with their Bable.[3]

One of the epigrams in *Wit's Bedlam* adds another piece of testimony to the scanty though sufficient evidence that Thomas Nashe was the author of that notorious bit of unsigned pornography, *The Choise of Valentines*. Once more Davies was reworking a theme he had already used, this time not in *The Scourge of Folly* but in the continuous verse satire appended to it and called *Papers Complaint*, . . .

[1] Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion, 1357–1900* (Cambridge, 1900), p. 61.

[2] No. 228 (misnumbered 288). The epigram is here given in full, although Miss Spurgeon quotes from only the last two couplets.

[3] No. 65.

Against the Paper-spoylers of these Times. Nashe was among the literary hacks denounced in that work, and one of the charges leveled against him was the authorship of the *Valentines.* The allegorical personification of paper is speaking:

> *Pierse-Pennilesse* (a *Pies* eat such a patch)
> Made me (ay me) that businesse once dispatch.
> And hauing made me vndergo the shame,
> Abusde me further, in the Deuills name:
> And made [me] *Dildo* [1] (dampned Dildo) beare,
> Till good-mens hate did me in peeces teare [2]

R. B. McKerrow used this passage in building up his case for Nashe's authorship of the *Valentines,*[3] but he does not refer to the even more obvious allusion in *Wit's Bedlam,* which sheds light on the poem's value to the gallants of the day. The *Valentines* circulated in manuscript, and young bloods would commit to memory obscene lines by which they might win plaudits in the taverns:

> *Tis merry, when knaues meet.*[4] *Epi.* 206
>
> Conceipted youths, when they at wine are met
> Mong other matters lightly they inquire
> What well pend Pamphlet lately out is set?
> What merry *Epigrams* or soure *Satire*?
> Then fall they to repeat some sugred *Lines*
> Of this or that mans: When some lustfull *Gull,*
> Comes in with *Nashes* choosing *Valentines*;
> To wit, his *Dildo* knowne to euery Trull.
> *I come* (saith he) sweet *Linnen* by thy leaue:
> (O good, ifaith, (saith one) then on hee goes)
> *Softly my fingers vp their Curtaines heaues:* [5]
> And there *Gomorrahs* filth (at full) he showes.
> All that can say this as their *Pater noster*
> Haue seene the Lions, sweet well seasoned youths

[1] An obscene word used by Nashe in *The Choise of Valentines.*

[2] *Complete Works,* ed. Grosart, II, *k,* p. 75.

[3] *The Works of Thomas Nashe,* ed. R. B. McKerrow, V (1910), 153.

[4] A proverbial expression. Cf. the title of Samuel Rowlands's pamphlet, *Tis Merrie when Gossips meete* (1602).

[5] The poem is excised from many of the editions sold in America. Cf. *The Choise of Valentines,* l. 100 (*Works of Thomas Nashe,* ed. McKerrow, III [1905], 407):

> "Softlie my fingers, up theis curtaine, heaue."

About the *Muses* Minions still they muster
To get some swelling lines to fill their mouthes:
But for their owne *Muse* it doth euer sing,
Rime without *Reas'n* a common English thing.

The commendatory epigram to Bacon, although somewhat too flattering to be sincere, is of significance as showing contemporary appreciation of that statesman:

To the Right Honorable Sir Francis Bacon *Knight. &c. Epi.* 259.

Thi' admired *Sire* was *Wit* & *Wisdomes* Source;
And thou his Sonne, resemblest him in those:
Thy *Hand* is open; close is thy Discourse:
For; *much* in *few*, thy thy *Iudgement* doth inclose.
But, when thou art disposed to set ope
A Flood of *Eloquence*, to Whaft all *Eares*
[]With head-long sway) vnto thine vtmost scope,
[T]hen, stubborn'st Rocks of *Lets* it ouerbeares:
So, thou do'st grace the *Law*, as it doth Thee;
But, of all Lawyers, Thou alone for me.[1]

The reference to the open hand leads one to suspect that Bacon had achieved some notoriety as a patron of letters, and Davies may have hoped to benefit by his largess.

Students of the drama will notice Davies's revelation that the hardships of the dramatist's profession in the face of the fickle play-going public were as prevalent then as now:

Play-wrights your Trade is tickle, full of toile;
For, you are bound to please the thwartest Minds
Who (like cros-seas, that rough Winds stil turmoile)
Tosse vp & down your praise, with various Winds!
It's easie to cry *Hisse*; but, tis not so
To silence it, and Claps of hands to raise:
Not as at brawling Dogs, where both We do;
But into Claps, that Clap vp all with praise.
Those whom yee trade with, weigh your *skill* and *paines*
By their owne *gaines*; &, though al three be great,
They weigh not you according to their *Gaines*;
But by your Skils, that *Fame* and *Famine* get:
Then of all *Glory*, purchas'd by the small,
A *Play-wright*, for his *Praise*, payes most of all![2]

[1] No. 374 (misnumbered 259). [2] No. 225.

Shakespeareans will be interested in the epigram in which Davies turns into sonnet form the passage in Plutarch that supplied Shakespeare with his famous description of Cleopatra's barge. The abilities of a supreme poet and a literary hack, in working the same material, form a suggestive comparison in poetic method, for Sir Thomas North's translation of Plutarch (through Amyot), which drama teachers consider heavy and uninspired beside Shakespeare's superb verse, becomes almost lyric compared with Davies's flaccid epigram.

> Therefore when she [Cleopatra] was sent unto by divers letters, both from Antonius himself, and also from his friends, she made so light of it and mocked Antonius so much, that she disdained to set forward otherwise, but to take her barge in the river of Cydnus, the poop whereof was of gold, the sails of purple, and the oars of silver, which kept stroke in rowing after the sound of the music of flutes, hautboys, citherns, viols, and such other instruments as they played upon in the barge. And now for the person of herself: she was laid under a pavilion of cloth of gold of tissue, apparelled and attired like the goddess Venus commonly drawn in picture: and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretty fair boys apparelled as painters do set forth god Cupid, with little fans in their hands, with the which they fanned wind upon her. Her Ladies and gentlewomen also, the fairest of them were apparelled like the nymphs Nereides (which are the mermaids of the waters) and like the Graces, some steering the helm, others tending the tackle and ropes of the barge, out of the which there came a wonderful passing sweet savour of perfumes.[1]

Davies's poem is one of the sonnet epigrams which became prevalent in the second decade of the century:

> *Marcus Antonius* (as *Plutarch* shoes)
> Commanding *Cleopatra* to appeare
> Before him (sith she succored his foes)
> She came in pompe (as one that had no Peere)
> Along the Riuer *Cydnus* in a *Gallion*,
> The Poope whereof was all of masty Gold;
> And vnderneath the like most rich Pauillion
> She lay her selfe, more rich a thousand fold.

[1] *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke (New York, 1909; in "The Shakespeare Library"), II, 38–39.

Surrounded with sweet *Singers*; and, with all,
The heau'nlist *Instruments* that *Songs* could grace;
Her Seruants clad in *Robes* maiesticall
Brodred with Pearle, t'wixt richest Golden-lace,
Thus came she gliding, on the Siluer Streame,
Forced with siluer Oares, and silken Sailes;
(Crowned her selfe with deerest *Diadem*).[1]

In sum, while *Wit's Bedlam* is a book of no higher literary quality than the average hack work of its day, it merits some attention, both because of its allusions to other writers and to contemporary institutions and because, instead of merely reprinting Davies's own earlier epigrams, it contains new ones, even though on themes he had already used.

[1] No. 140.

Edward May's Borrowings from Timothe Kendall and Others

By HOYT H. HUDSON

THE literary temper and tendencies of a particular segment of the past frequently can be ascertained most truly from the work of minor (and, by later times, forgotten) writers. The present essay directs attention to an epigram-book of negligible artistic value, but one which, almost as if made to order for a student of the times, exemplifies literary practices and methods of composition which entered into the making of far more admirable books. To reveal the truth of these statements calls for a minute analysis of verbal and material debts and variations; but such an analysis will also reveal much concerning the whole tradition of the epigram in England.[1]

As is clear from records of publication, epigram-books enjoyed their greatest popularity in England from 1598 to about 1625; and any seventeenth-century writer who composed, after the latter date, a book entirely made up of epigrams, was following an outmoded fashion. Original minds turned away from this form of writing.[2] Yet it must not be supposed that all relish for the epigram had departed by 1630. What seems to have happened is that, perceiving the excellence their predecessors had attained to, men set about to collect and imitate (or to plagiarize) the work remaining from those predecessors. Thus we have such a production as Samuel Pick's *Festum Voluptatis* (1639), really an anthology of lyrics and epigrams from the generation preceding Pick's own, though paraded as a work of fresh invention.[3] Similarly, there is the comprehensive and popular anthology of epi-

[1] What is here presented as to the writing and tradition of the epigram will hold, *mutatis mutandis*, for other forms — perhaps most closely for the sonnet, madrigal, and lyric. The present study, however, does not draw the suggested parallels.

[2] One might cite, as an exception to this statement, Crashaw's *Epigrammatum sacrorum liber* (1634), with John Saltmarsh's similar epigrams in *Poemata sacra* (1636); since the turning of the epigram to sacred subjects gave it something of a fresh impulse.

[3] Hyder Rollins, "Samuel Pick's Borrowings," *Review of English Studies*, VII (1931), 204.

grams and epitaphs, *Wits Recreations*, first published by Humphrey Blunden in 1640, containing 504 epigrams and 126 epitaphs gathered from various sources but largely from books printed during the period mentioned above. In 1641 the enlarged *Wits Recreations* contained (according to the title-page) 630 epigrams and 160 epitaphs.[1] In 1645 the book was republished with a new title, *Recreations for Ingenious Head-peeces*, and with twenty more epitaphs; whereas the editions of 1650, 1654, 1663, and 1667 announce 700 epigrams and 200 epitaphs.[2] In this manner the rhymed wit and sententiousness of James's reign were kept alive and current during the Civil War, under the Commonwealth, and after the Restoration.[3]

Edward May, who published *Epigrams Divine and Morall* in 1633, was neither an anthologist nor such a bald-faced pirate as Samuel Pick. Rather, he applied to some materials at hand the methods of translation, imitation, and verse-paraphrase which he doubtless had acquired in grammar school. For we may suppose that May's teachers followed a course of instruction in Latin composition such as John Brinsley had set forth in *Ludus Literarius: or, The Grammar Schoole* (1612, 1627),[4]

[1] The additions were even greater than the figures indicate, since eighty-one epigrams appearing in 1640 were omitted from 1641 and later editions (and several others were transferred from among the epigrams to a newly added section called "Fancies and Fantasticks" or to the section of epitaphs). It is notable that some of the tributes to authors, such as the one "To Mr. William Shake-spear" (No. 25), which were taken from manuscripts and not from printed books, appear only in 1640.

[2] An actual count of 1654 shows 710 epigrams and 193 epitaphs, besides those scattered through other sections of the miscellany. The modern reprint (in the second of two volumes issued under the general title, *Facetiae*, in 1817, and reissued by J. W. Hotten in 1874) contains 902 epigrams and 219 epitaphs; this represents a combination of the first with some later editions.

[3] As further manifestations of a retrospective interest in epigrams during the 1630's, we might note that four editions of the anonymous and miscellaneous *A Description of Love* (containing a section of epigrams) appeared from 1629 to 1638; that seven editions of *A Helpe to Discourse* (also with a section of epigrams) appeared from 1628 to 1638; that Harington's four books of epigrams were republished twice, separately in 1633 and together with his *Orlando* in 1634; that Sir Thomas More's *Epigrammata* was for the first time printed in England in 1638; that John Owen's epigrams were republished at least once during the decade; that *Fasciculus Florum* (1636), by "Lerimos Vthalmus" (Thomas Wilmer?), is an anthology of Latin scraps, many of them epigrams by Owen, More, Buchanan, Haddon, and others, with translations.

[4] See especially Chapter XIV, "How to enter to make Verses with delight and certainty, without bodging; and to traine vp Schollers to imitate and expresse *Ouid* or *Virgil*, both their phrase and stile."

calling for the rephrasing of borrowed matter and for the use of epithets and phrases taken from some common store.[1] While these exercises were performed in Latin, any bright schoolboy would be likely to experiment with them in English. And, as we know from Hoole, before the middle of the century the very same exercises were carried on in English under the master's direction (in the fourth form, at least). Hoole wrote:

> Let them procure some pretty delightful and honest English Poems, by perusal whereof they may become acquainted with the Harmony of English Poesie. *Mr. Hardwicks* late Translation of *Mantuan*, Mr. *Sandys* of *Ovid*, Mr. *Ogleby's* of *Virgil*, will abundantly supply them with Heroick Verses; which after they can truly and readily make, they may converse with others, that take liberty to sport it in Lyrick verses. Amongst all which, Mr. *Herberts* Poems are most worthy to be mentioned in the first place, and next to them (I conceive Mr. *Quarles divine Poems, and his divine Fansies*;) besides which, you may allow many others full of wit and elegancie; . . . After they are thus become acquainted with variety of meeter, you may cause them to turn a Fable of *Aesop* into what kinde of verse you please to appoint them; and sometimes you may let them translate some select Epigrams out of *Owen*, or those collected by Mr. *Farnaby* or some *Emblemes* out of *Alciat*, or the like Flourishes of wit, which you think will more delight them and help their fansies. And when you see that they begin to exercise their own wits for enlargement, and invention, you may leave them to themselves, to make verses upon any occasion or subject; yet to furnish them with Rhymes, Epithites, & varietie of elegant expressions, you may let them make use of the pleasant *English Parnassus*, composed *by* the true lover of the Muses, Mr. *Josuah Poole*.[2]

As has been hinted, in *Epigrams Divine and Morall* we have, for the most part, the results of exercises in verse-paraphrase. Yet what may be permissible and commendable as a schoolboy's exercise be-

[1] "For variety and copy of Poeticall phrases, the *Thesaurus Phrasium poëticarum* gathered by *Buchlerus* of the last Edition, *An. M.D.Cvij.* is a notable helpe." (Brinsley, *op. cit.* [1627], p. 196.)

[2] Charles Hoole, *A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole, in four small Treatises* (1660), in the third treatise, *The Masters Method*; here quoted from E. T. Campagnac's edition (1913), pp. 158–59. Hoole says his book was "Written about Twenty three yeares ago, for the Benefit of *Rotherham* School, where it was first used"; this pushes back the date of writing to 1637, while the actual use of the methods may antedate that.

comes less so when published in a volume of poems, under one's own name as author; and the reader may presently judge for himself whether, after making allowance for changing modes and standards in such affairs, we should charge May with plagiarism. But we are principally interested in this book in so far as it illustrates the tradition and diffusion of epigrammatic points — particularly of some from medieval as distinguished from classical sources.

We can say little as to the identity of Edward May, the epigrammatist. He blazons himself "Gent." on his title-page, but includes no dedication or commendatory stanzas by partial friends. He shows himself to be something of a man of letters, and may possibly be the Edward May who was graduated B.A. from Trinity College, Oxford, in 1610 and proceeded M.A. in 1613, of whom the annalist also says, "perhaps rector of Crayford, Kent, 1643."[1] He probably was the "Ed. May" who contributed verses "To his Friend the Author M^r. *Thomas Jordan*, on his Varieties," to Jordan's *Poeticall Varieties* of 1637, and a much longer tribute, "On the deceased Authour, Master *Thomas Beedom*, and his Poems," to Beedome's *Poems, Divine, and Humane* of 1641. But he could hardly have been Edward May, one of the Queen's physicians, with whom he is identified by an entry in the *Short-Title Catalogue*.[2] The topical and personal poems of the *Epigrams* have to do with a friend named John Hall, with a Mistress Westbe, with an execution at Smithfield (in Cumberland?) on April 20, 1632, and one at Tyburn on June 2, 1632; and one poem is entitled, "On a handsome Maid, who lou'd an ill-shapen dwarfe, call'd the Lo. of Portsmouth." Some love-songs indicate that May was familiar with lyrics by the popular poets of the time.[3] Beyond

[1] J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* (Oxford, 1891–92), III, 992.

[2] That is, no distinction is there made between the author of the epigrams and the author of *A Most Certaine and True Relation of a Strange Monster or Serpent Found in the left Ventricle of the heart of Iohn Pennant* (1639), who, according to the title-page, was "Doctor of Philosophy and Physick, and professor Elect of them, in the Colledge of the Academy of Noble-men, called the Musaeum Minervae: Physitian also extraordinary unto her most Sacred Majesty, Queene of great Brittany, &c." But there is nothing in the *Epigrams* of 1633 to suggest that its author was educated or even interested in medicine; whereas the May of the *Relation* tells an incident of his medical practice occurring in 1634. Furthermore, the author of the commendatory verses of 1637 and 1641 signs himself simply "Ed. May."

[3] May's "*On his Mistresse a little wauering*" begins (sig. D 4^v):

Hast thou power to soften hell?
And the stubborne furies quell?

this, all that we know of him is that he had undergone the usual school exercises in epigram writing, that he wished to publish a book of verses, and that to find matter for it he turned principally to two

Canst thou Beasts and Satyres moue
By thy art? and quicken loue;
Much thou maist, yet faile to find
The center of a womans mind.

This seems to echo the opening of a song in John Ford's *The Broken Heart* (as published 1633; sig. E 3^{v}):

Can you paint a thought? or number
Euery fancy in a slumber?
Can you count soft minutes rouing
From a dyals point by mouing?
Can you graspe a sigh? or lastly,
Rob a Virgins honour chastly?
No, ô no; yet you may
Sooner doe both that and this, . . .

Both of these passages also suggest, of course, John Donne's well-known "Song," beginning:

Goe, and catche a falling starre,
Get with child a mandrake roote,
Tell me, where all past yeares are.

Again, May's "*On Mistri* (*Westbe)" echoes Jonson's stanza, as sung in *The Diuell is an Ass* (published 1631), beginning (sig. R 1^{v}):

Haue you seene but a bright Lilly grow,
Before rude hands haue touch'd it?
Haue you mark'd but the fall of the Snow,
Before the soyle hath smuch'd it?

May wrote (sigs. F 4^{v}–F 5):

Would you know what is more sleeke
Then the smooth and glassie cheeke
Of bladed grasse? or would you know
What is purer then the snow?
Would you learne what is more soft
Then the downe that growes aloft
The blow-ball? [etc.]

The ubiquity of this lyrical pattern at the time May was writing is further exemplified by the first stanza of a song in Peter Hausted's *The Rivall Friends* (published 1632; sig. K 4]:

Haue you a desire to see
The glorious heavens Epitome?
Or an abstract of the Spring?
Adonis garden? or a thing
Fuller of wonder, Natures shop display'd,
Hung with the choycest pieces she has made?
Here behold it open layd.

older collections, presently to be named. It may be said at once that the words "Divine and Morall" in May's title represent an appeal to the taste of purchasers rather than a description of the contents of the book. Not more than half of the two hundred and one poems qualify as either divine or moral.[1] A group at the beginning, "On Christ, and the Virgin Mary," "On Christ," "Of Abraham," and others, may properly be called "divine"; a much larger number of scattered pieces with such titles as "On Almesdeeds," "To Disimulation," "On Death," "On Sinne," and so on, are truly moral: yet the remainder of the book offers the same girds and witticisms, scurrilous anecdotes, imitations and translations from Martial and the Greek Anthology, as made up so many earlier collections.

Let us turn to a specimen of May's art. Epigram I, 53, runs as follows:

To Venus.

Ho! fire, fire, this way, this way turne,
Yee wanton streames fall here, I burne, I burn,
My bosome's all on flame, if *Cytherea*
Great Queene of loue and beauty, of the sea,
Was borne, why burnes she so? we water bring
Fire to quench, yet loue from thence did spring,
And turnes my brest to Etna; silly wretch,
From Icie streames thou scalding flames dost fetch;
Nought but a diamond can a diamond wound,
And nought but loue, to cure loues heat is found.

First of all, we remember that Thomas Campion's *Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres* (n.d. [*ca.* 1612]) had included a song beginning,

Fire, fire, fire, fire,
loe here I burne, I burne in such desire,
That all the teares that I can straine
out of mine idle empty braine,
Cannot allay my scorching paine.
Come *Trent* and *Humber*, and fayre *Thames*,
Dread Ocean haste with all thy streames.[2]

[1] There are two "centuries" of epigrams in the book, separately numbered. References hereafter will be by century and number.

There are actually ninety-eight poems in the first "century," Nos. 65 and 76 being omitted, and one hundred and three (several of them unnumbered) in the second.

[2] Sig. D 2v.

Plainly May's recollection of Campion's song provided him with the first two and a half lines of his epigram. For the remainder, we must turn first to a Latin poem by Marcus Antonius Muretus (1526–85):

In Venerem.

Si Venus, ut mendax docuerunt turba poëtae,
De mediis verè nata putatur aquis;
Quî fieri potis est, mediis ut fluctibus orta
Assiduo nostrum torreat igne jecur?
O dolor! ô quid jam miseri speretis amantes?
E media vobis nascitur ignis aquâ.[1]

This poem already had found an English translator, though an unskilful one, in Timothe Kendall:

Against Venus.

If *Venus*, (as the liyng route
of bablyng Poets sing)
If she out of the surgyng seas
and weltring waues did spring
How can this come to passe, that she
should burne that so was borne?
By flanckeryng flame of firie loue,
to cinders men are worne.
Ah, gripyng greefe: what hopst thou for
poore Louer seely wretch?
Thou from the midst of flowyng streames,
hot scaldyng fire dost fetche.[2]

From Kendall, rather than from Muretus, May contrived a paraphrase in five and a half lines:

. if *Cytherea*
Great Queene of loue and beauty, of the sea,
Was borne, why burnes she so? we water bring
Fire to quench, yet loue from thence did spring,
And turnes my brest to Etna; silly wretch,
From Icie streames thou scalding flames dost fetch.

Here the first part is simple rewriting, with "Great Queene of loue and beauty" put in as an epithet to pad out a line, but retaining

[1] Here quoted from Abraham Wright, *Delitiae Delitiarum* (Oxford, 1637), p. 28.
[2] *Flowers of Epigrammes* (1577), sigs. F 8^{v}–G 1.

Kendall's paronomasia of "burne" and "borne." When the point is reached, May leans harder on his model, borrowing "silly wretch," changing "flowyng streames" to "Icie streames," "scaldyng fire" to "scalding flames," but retaining the rhyme-words. Then, having proceeded so far with considerable assistance, he turns to another device which he might have learned in school: he closes with a sententious summary using proverbial material. Although thus far the whole piece has been built upon images of fire and water, he now, by way of comparison, thinks of the proverb, "Diamond cuts diamond."[1] In the last line, by applying the proverb to his subject, he achieves his final sententious observation, "And nought but loue, to cure loues heat is found." Down to this line, as we have seen, the poem pieces together a patch from Campion (who had but amplified a Petrarchan conceit), a larger patch from Kendall (who had translated a neo-Latin epigrammatist's conceit upon a familiar theme from mythology), and a line restating a proverb.

A second specimen introduces another of May's principal source books. In *A Helpe to Discourse* (1619 and later) may be found this passage:

Q. *To what is an Hypocrite most fitly compared?*
A. To a Candle that carries a faire light or shew to others, but wastes it selfe for his vaine-glory to the socket: Besides, euery Hypocrite is said to haue the voyce of *Iacob*, but the heart and hands of *Esau*.[2]

[1] In Marston and Webster's *The Malcontent* (1604), IV, iii, the proverb took this form:

. for t'is found,
None cutts a Diamon but a Diamound.

For earlier specimens of the use of a proverb to make a sententious ending, we may turn to almost any epigrammatist preceding May. Barnabe Googe, in "*An Epytaphe of the Death of* Nicolas Grimaold" (*Eglogs, Epytaphes, & Sonettes* [1563]; Arber's reprint, pp. 73–74), closes thus:

But Fortune fa[v]ours Fooles as old men saye
And lets them lyue, and take the wyse awaye.

Compare also Thomas Freeman in *Rubbe, and A great Cast* (1614), I, 2, after eight lines defending his title to the name of epigrammatist:

The Reader laughes, this reason he rehearses,
The Ape likes her owne whelpes, and I my verses.

[2] Ed. of 1627, p. 19.

A few pages farther on occurs the following:

Q. What is thought to be the occasion that Christ cursed the figge tree being barren, since it was neither a reasonable creature, nor disposer of it owne seasons, and especially being not then the time of bearing?

A. This is thought not to bee without many deepe mysteries, one whereof especially is conceiued, to note out the hatefulnesse of Hipocrisie, that seemes to flourish with displayed leaues of vanitie and ostentation, but wants the true fruit of faith, which are good workes and charitie.[1]

For his epigram I, 15, May drew two lines from each passage:

On an Hypocrite.

Tis said that every Hypocrit commands,
The voyce of *Iacob*, *Esaus* heart and hands,
And like the cursed fig-tree seeme to flourish,
But with leaues only, and no fruit does nourish.

But there still remained, in the first passage, one unused comparison. So we find another epigram (I, 13) embodying that:

A Candle is most like an Hypocrite,
That vnto others gives a glorious light,
But wasts himselfe unto the sockets snout,
There stinkes, is smelt, and so is trodden out.

For more than a third of his poems May merely versified the prose of *A Helpe to Discourse*, a popular handbook of religious doctrine, scientific lore, and proverbial wisdom, with small collections of jests, riddles, and epigrams adjoined, the whole compiled by W. B. and E. P.[2] It imitates, and to some extent reproduces, an earlier work, *The Philosophers Banquet* (1609, 1614, 1633), which in turn had begun by being merely a translation of *Mensa Philosophica* (then attributed to the thirteenth-century Michael Scot), but which received upon second publication considerable additions of material such as later

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 24–25.

[2] The *Short-Title Catalogue* (*s.v.* William Basse) notes copies extant from eight out of at least thirteen published editions, the earliest in 1619 and the latest in 1638. References in our study are to the sixth edition, 1627. This adds, for the first time, *The Country-Mans Counsellor* by E. P., containing astronomical, medical, agricultural, and legal advice, with tables for computing interest and other such material. May did not draw upon this part of the *Helpe*.

made up *A Helpe to Discourse*.[1] More than seventy of May's epigrams follow, with more or less closeness, passages in *A Helpe to Discourse* (referred to below as *H. D.*). A few examples will show the various degrees of indebtedness.

H. D., p. 10:

A Rule for our life.

So { Learne, / Liue, } as if { Thou shouldest liue alwayes. / Thou shouldest dye to morrow.

Suspice coelum, dispice mundum, respice finem.
Looke vp to heauen, despise the world, respect thine end.

May, I, 21:

So { learne / live } as if { thou never shouldst decay, / thou wert to dye to day.

Looke up to Heaven, count that thy friend,
Despise the world respect thy end.

[1] Presumably the "W. B." who collaborated upon the *Helpe* is the "W. B." who had assumed complete responsibility for the *Banquet*. Practically all of the questions and answers filling pages 213–32 of the *Banquet* of 1614 appear verbatim in the *Helpe*, though not consecutively. Seven of the "Conceyts and Ieasts" in the *Banquet* (1614; pp. 239–56) appear in the *Helpe* (1627; pp. 179–90). Nine of the epigrams in the *Banquet* (1614; pp. 256–62) turn up in the *Helpe* (1627; pp. 149–56).

The present article is not the place to tell the whole story of *Mensa Philosophica* in English, although, since we deal with the transmission of epigrammatic materials, it has pertinence. This fifteenth-century work, now usually associated with the name of Theobaldus Anguilbertus rather than with that of Michael Scot, was translated, with some changes and omissions, by T. T. (Thomas Twyne?) in a version published as *The Schoolemaster, or Teacher of Table Philosophie* (1576, 1583). (The *Short-Title Catalogue* should have listed this work *s.v.* Michael Scot.) In 1603 N. Steinius supervised a new edition (at Leipzig) of the Latin work, to which he added *Libellus Iocorum & Facetiarum* prepared by Othomarus Luscinius. The Englishman, W. B., thereafter addressed himself to making a translation, which he issued as *The Philosophers Banquet* in 1609. He followed the original with some closeness through the first three books, occasionally condensing, but was highly selective in the fourth book, giving not much more than one-twentieth of the original. The Huntington Library possesses an apparently unique copy of this first edition of 1609. For his second edition, W. B. dilated the close-knit prose of his translation, and added interspersed observations and verses — some of them from the *Libellus* of 1603, as well as several entirely new sections (one being a group of then current English epigrams).

Thomas F. Dunn, in *The Facetiae of the Mensa Philosophica* ("Washington University Studies"; St. Louis, 1934), gives an account of the manuscripts and editions of *Mensa Philosophica*, with a discussion of its authorship and relation to other collections, as well as a valuable list of the jests and stories contained in its fourth book. He does not, however, show its relation to *A Helpe to Discourse*.

H. D., pp. 35–36:

Q. *How is our Life proued to bee a something almost depending upon nothing?*

A. Thus, the yeares that are past are gone: and those we haue not; the future wee are not certaine of, and therefore boast not of; the time present is but a moment, and that is the brittle thred it depends vpon. And therefore to this I adde with a Father, Happie is he, that in this his short Minute layes hold vpon Christs mercies.

May, I, 17:

On Mortality.

Those dayes we had are past and gon,
Of those to come, we are not sure,
Our present time we thinke not on,
How can so fine a thred endure?
Happie art thou that relyst,
In that short minute on thy Christ.

H. D., p. 120:

Q. *What creature is that which bites with the Tongue?*

A. All creatures bite with their Teeth, as is commonly knowne, but the Flatterer bites with his Tongue, and the wound is mortall.

May, I, 44:

To Slander.

To bite with teeth does to all beasts belong,
But thou more beast, bit'st worser with thy tong.

H. D., pp. 105–6:

Q. *What three things are those that chiefly preserue life?*

A. A joyfull Heart, a quiet Mind, a moderate Dyet.[1]

[1] This goes back to the popular medical work in verse, variously known as *Schola Salernitana*, *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum*, or (in English) "The School of Salerne," which is attributed principally to Arnold of Villanova (flourished *ca.* 1300). Lines 8–9 read:

Si tibi deficiant Medici, medici tibi fiant
Haec tria: mens hilaris, requies, moderata diaeta.

In Sir John Harington's translation, *The Englishmans Docter* (1607), the distich runs (sig. A 6):

Vse three Physitians still, first Doctor *Quiet*,
Next Doctor *Mery-man*, and Doctor *Dyet*.

Compare the version in oral currency in recent times:

Joy, temperance, and repose
Slam the door on the doctor's nose.

May, I, 45:

A Rule.

Three things feed life and keepe the body quiet,
A glad heart, minde content, and moderate diet.

H. D., p. 84:

Q. *Why doe they that are troubled with the Gout, euer loue to talke most?*
A. Because they cannot runne with their feet, they loue to runne with their tongue.

May, I, 60:

To a Foote man.

I musd why *Iockie* troubled with the Gowt,
Did talke so much, at last I found it out;
His footmanship and dancing dayes being done
He now tooke pleasure with his tongue to runne.

In this last parallel May has gone a little way in the direction of originality: he has specifically applied a borrowed general observation. There are other instances in the *Epigrams*. Twice he found in the *Helpe* a thought expressed both in prose and in verse, and in each case he rhymed the prose in his own way (avoiding any echo of the verses), as illustrated in the example given below.

H. D., pp. 121–22:

Q. *Which is a liuing word, and which is a dead word?*
A. The spoken word is the liuing, the written word is the dead, of which one thus writes most wittily:[1]

Sit verbum vox viua licet, vox mortua scriptum,
Scripta diu viuunt, non ita verba diu.

Englished.

Although the speaking Word haue life,
The written word bee dead:
The written Word shall last and bee,
When th'spoken Word is fled.

[1] John Owen, *Epigrammata*, III, 208. It might be argued that May translated directly from Owen; but, in view of his continual use of *A Helpe to Discourse*, such a course seems unlikely.

May, II, 5:

On Manuscripts.

Though the word spoken liue, the written dye,
Yet that shall end, this liue eternally.

But we have seen enough specimens of May's borrowings from this source. A complete list of them will be found as part of an appended tabulation.

Let us turn to the other book which May had at his elbow when he composed his divine and moral epigrams — namely, Timothe Kendall's *Flowers of Epigrammes* (1577), the first anthology of epigrams in English, made up, for the most part, of translations by Kendall and others from classical and neo-Latin poets. Kendall took for his model the *Flores Epigrammatum* (Paris, 1555) of Léger du Chêne, or Duchesne,[1] and found in it the Latin originals of most of the epigrams he translated or collected. In addition to the epigrammatists represented in Duchesne, Kendall chiefly admired Bishop John Parkhurst, whose *Ludicra siue Epigrammata Iuuenilia* had appeared in 1573, and he made versions of eighty-five poems from this book. At the end of his anthology proper, furthermore, Kendall placed his own "Trifles," a collection of schoolboy verse imitated or translated from various sources, but principally from Nicolas Bourbon's *Nugae* (Paris, 1533; revised and republished as *Nugarum libri octo* [Basle, 1540]).[2] Thus it came about that Bourbon and Parkhurst found places among the numerous and far-flung ancestors of May's *Epigrams Divine and Morall.*

Edward May must have felt that he possessed a treasure-trove in his copy (then more than fifty years old) of *Flowers of Epigrammes.* For he perceived that many of Kendall's verse-renderings would be fair epigrams if only they were condensed and polished. Kendall had shared in the besetting sin of the 1570's — verbosity; he had also, for the most part, written in the superseded "fourteener." May had merely, in some cases, to reduce the "fourteeners" to decasyllabics

[1] Latinized to Leodegarius à Quercu. Dr. Lambert Ennis, of Northwestern University, has shown me a tabulation of Kendall's sources in *Flores Epigrammatum*, included as an appendix in his unpublished Harvard dissertation. I had noted, some years ago, the general debt of Kendall to this anthology, but had not worked out the parallels in detail, as Dr. Ennis has done.

[2] James Hutton, "Timothy Kendall's *Trifles* and Nicolas Bourbon's *Nugae*," *Modern Language Notes*, XLIV (1929), 19–22.

in order to produce something acceptable to the taste of 1633. Several examples follow.

Kendall, sigs. F 1–F 1^{v} (from Cynthius Ioannes Baptista): [1]

Vesbia.

Three Furies (heretofore)
haue alwaies been in hell:
But now that *Vesbia* she is there,
there furies fower doe dwell.

May, I, 40:

To Vesbia.

There but three furies usd to be in hell,
But *Vesbia* being there now foure doe dwell.

[1] Baptista is turning to satire the familiar conceit of adding one to the Graces, the Muses, etc. The conceit is classical (see the Greek Anthology, IX, 506, 571, where Sappho is made the tenth Muse, imitated by Ausonius, Epigram 51, and also the pseudo-Ausonian epigram translated by Kendall, as quoted below [p. 37]); one of its earliest appearances in English poetry is in Nicholas Grimald's "*To* L. I. S." [*Songes and Sonettes* (1557)], sig. N 2^{v}):

Charis the fourth, Pieris the tenth, the second Cypris, Iane,
One to assemblies thre adioyned: . . .

As has been pointed out by W. P. Mustard (*Modern Language Notes*, XLI [1926], 203), Grimald probably followed Jacopo Sannazaro's epigram (III, 2):

Quarta Charis, decima es mihi Pieris, altera Cypris,
Cassandra, una choris addita diva tribus.

But Sannazaro was as surely following the Greek Anthology, V, 95, which Paton translates as follows: "Four are the Graces, there are two Aphrodites and ten Muses. Dercylis is one of all, a Grace, an Aphrodite, and a Muse." Among Sir John Davies's epigrams, written and first published *ca.* 1596, the twenty-fifth deals with a similar conceit:

Audacious painters have Nine Worthies made;
But poet Decius, more audacious farre,
Making his mistris march with men of warre,
With title of Tenth Worthy doth her lade.
Me thinks that gull did use his tearmes as fit,
Which tearm'd his loue a Gyant for her wit.

The butt of this epigram is Drayton, who in "Amour. 8" of *Ideas Mirrour* (1594), after citing the Worthies, the Muses, and the orders of angels, wrote:

My Worthie, one to these nine Worthies, addeth,
And my faire Muse, one Muse vnto the nine:
And my good Angell, in my soule diuine,
With one more order, these nine orders gladdeth.
My Muse, my Worthy, and my Angell then,
Makes euery one of these three nines a ten.

In spite of Davies's attack, Drayton reprinted the sonnet (as No. 18) in his revised *Ideas* of 1619.

Kendall, sig. F 1^{v} (from Textor):

Praiers for the ded, nothyng profit.

Thou sowest in sãde, thou ploust ỹ plash,
thou anglest in the ayer:
If so thou goest about to helpe,
the soule deceast by praier.

May, II, 13:

Against praying for the dead.

Thou sowest in sand, or anglst in the ayre,
That thinkst to helpe a soule deceast, by prayre.

In the next example, May does not shorten, but polishes; he keeps the fourteener but transforms it by introducing an additional pair of rhymes and breaking the unit into ten and four instead of into the old eight and six.

Kendall, sig. G 6 (from Ausonius): [1]

Of his deare deceased.

Three graces fayre there were: but while
my *Lesbia* did remaine
Foure were there: and now she is gone,
there are but three agayne.

May, I, 52:

To Flora.

Three graces were there, but whẽ Nature made
my Flora faire,
Then there were foure, and now in earth shee's laid
but three they are.[2]

[1] Not given to Ausonius by modern editors. Kendall had found the Latin original attributed to Ausonius in Duchesne, who was following some such edition as that of Thaddaeus Ugoletus (Parma, 1499), where the distich occurs (fol. lxxvi) in a group headed: "*Epigrammata Ausonii: quae ferunt emanasse e bibliotheca Georgii Alexandrini Viri de lingua latina Benemeriti.*"

[2] May does the same thing, metrically, in the first two lines of his II, 97, quoted below (p. 40). In the present instance, especially, he seems to have been influenced by William Browne's similar adaptation of the fourteener (though Browne's second unit runs to but twelve syllables), as preserved in Lansdowne MS 777 (here quoted from *Poems*, ed. Gordon Goodwin; "The Muses' Library," II, 289):

In Obitum M S, X^{o} Maij, 1614.

May! Be thou never grac'd with birds that sing,
Nor Flora's pride!
In thee all flowers and roses spring,
Mine only died.

May's use of the name Flora, instead of his model's Lesbia, constitutes another possible clue leading to Browne's poem.

The introduction of new material by May is illustrated by the instance that follows.

Kendall, sig. K 8^{v} (from Sir Thomas More):

To one light minded.

If that thou wert as light of foot,
as thou are light of mynd:
Thou wouldst outrun the lightest Hare
and make hym come behind.

May, II, 81:

To one fickle minded.

Wer't thou as light of foot as light of mind,
Thou would'st out-strip the stag, the haire, or wind.[1]

Sometimes May expands his model, as in the example given below.

Kendall, sig. L 8 (from Stephanus):

Of Aulus.

What *Aulus* doeth I doe not aske:
but whether of these twoo:
Or drinke, or slepe, for nothyng els
doeth *Aulus* vse to doe.

May, II, 61:

To Aulus.

What *Aulus* does, not now doe I demand;
But which of these, I faine would vnderstand,
Or drinke, or sleepe, pray whether of these two,
For nothing else I know does *Aulus* doe.

But it is time to turn to a particularly interesting group of May's borrowings, the thirteen epigrams which go back, by way of Kendall, to the Latin epigrams of Bishop Parkhurst. A more scrupulous or scholarly author than May might have gone to the trouble of looking

[1] In *Donnes Satyr* (1662), by the younger John Donne, appears a version of More's epigram which somewhat resembles May's; but the resemblance is probably accidental. It is No. 80 in the section called "A Cabinet of Merry Conceits":

Of a very light one.

Wert thou as swift of foot, as light of mind,
An Hare in open field thou'ldst turn and winde.

up Parkhurst's Latin, with the hope of getting therefrom some aid in the composing of his English paraphrases; but the present writer has found no evidence that May went behind Kendall's renderings. It will be seen that, in working from Kendall, May frequently added matter not in the original Latin. Our first example is noteworthy for its meter and subject matter. Parkhurst had written:

In quasdam eximia forma puellas, niue lusitantes.

Cvm niue ludatis, pura niue candidiores,
Discatis quid nix candida significet.
Nix perit in vestris manibus, penitusq*ue* liquescit:
Tempore sic paruo splendida forma perit.[1]

Kendall translated thus:

Of certaine faire maydens plaiyng with Snowe.

You virgins fairer then the Snowe
wherwith you sport and play:
The Snowe is white, and you are bright,
now marke what I shall say.
The Snowe betwene your fingers fades
and melteth quight away:
So glisteryng gleames of bewties blaze
in time shall sone decay.[2]

After following Kendall for one line, May launches upon a somewhat free variation (II, 97), which, by the introduction of the roses [3] and

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 32.
[2] *Op. cit.*, sig. N 1.
[3] The availability of roses as poetical material in May's time is illustrated also by another parallel. Kendall had translated from Andreas Dactius an epigram ("*Of hym self, and his frende*," sig. G 6[v]) beginning:

Like as the bough doeth bud and branche,
knit to his bodie faste: . . .

In May this becomes (II, 79):

Behold, my deerest, how the fragrant Rose
Is fresh and blown, whilst on the tree it * grows.

* Misprinted "is" in the original.

by its meter and tone, reflects the poetic temper of the 1630's and suggests Herrick:

To certaine Maidens playing with snow.

You tender Virgins, fairer then the Snow,
with which you play,
Note how it melts, thinke how the Roses grow,
and how decay,
Iust so does beauty fade, and age draw on,
Winter makes hast, and Summer's quickly gone.

The second example, in its Latin original, is about as "home-grown" and authentic as epigrams ever are.

Parkhurst, p. 182:

Ad vxorẽ, quae ollā plenā herbis in fenestra posuit.

Vt sit odor fragrans, herbae plantantur in olla
Abs te: olidum vt crescant ingeris atque fimum.
Tolle fimum, vel tolle herbas, vt tollito vtrumq*ue*:
Quàm bene olent herbae, tam fimus ipse malè.

Kendall, sig. O 2^{v}:

To a wife, whiche set a pot full of flowers in her windowe.

To make a fragrant sauour sweet,
in windowe thou dost set
Freshe flowers, and for to make them grow,
thou stinkyng mier dost get:
Wife, cast the mier away, or herbs,
or both I thee desire:
The flowers they doe not smell so well,
as ill doth stinke the mire.

May, II, 100:

To his wife, which set a pot of Flowers in the window.

Faire flowers thou dost in thy window set,
And stinking dirt to make them grow, dost get.
Good wife cast all away, I thee desire,
The flowers smell sweet, but worser stinks the mire.

We shall have occasion, later, to refer to others of May's borrowings that have Parkhurstian antecedents.

Another group of May's epigrams goes back to Martial. It would be absurd to suppose that May had not read at least some selected epigrams by the Roman master, and it is fair to suppose that he could easily have turned to a book of them. Yet every Martialian epigram echoed by May is to be found, translated, in Kendall's *Flowers of Epigrammes*. It is true that, more often than heretofore, May takes Kendall's version as a mere starting-point, and amplifies or varies freely; yet whether he consulted the Latin in any instance is wholly doubtful. Again and again he appropriates phrases (or more) from Kendall, as in the example that follows.

Kendall, sig. A 6^{v} (from Martial, IV, 65):

Of Philaene.

Philaene neuer letteth teares,
but from one eye to fall:
And would ye knowe how so it is?
she hath but one in all.

May, II, 16:

To Phylaene.

Phylaene lets teares but from one eye fall,
The reason is, she hath but one in all.

Interestingly enough, John Weever, in his *Epigrammes* (1599), had also leaned upon Kendall for his version of this epigram. Here is how it came out under Weever's hands:

De Mella.

From one eie alwaies *Mellaes* teares do fall,
And what's the cause? She hath but one in all.[1]

In the comparison next cited, May gives an entirely fresh version, but need not have consulted the Latin to make it. As a matter of fact, if he was at all familiar with Martial, he must have known the original of this by heart.

[1] V, 20. The use of Kendall's wording of the point might be taken as a coincidence, were it not that in several other instances Weever made use of Kendall and borrowed his wording; these are detailed below (pp. 42 n., 50, n. 2).

Kendall, sig. A 5 (from Martial, I, 32):[1]

To Sabidius.

I Loue thee not *Sabidius*,
I can not tell thee why:
I can saie naught but this alone,
I doe not loue thee, I.

May, II, 18:

To Flacca.

I loue thee not, yet know not what should moue me,
But onely this, in troth I cannot loue thee.

May's II, 45, has a long history behind it. We may begin with the epigram itself as he printed it in 1633:

To Priscus *and* Galla, *man and wife*;
Who ne're agreed in all their life.

Priscus loues wine, *Galla* does not despise it,
He vses to be drunke, she neuer flyes it:
Priscus spends all, all *Galla* does consume,
He loues Tobacco, she delights in fume:
Priscus does keepe a whore, *Galla* a knaue;
He gallant goes, and she is very braue:
Priscus is blacke, and *Galla* is not faire,
He meager is, and leane, and she is spare:
Since that both wicked, both so like we see,
I wonder why they neuer doe agree.

[1] This, of course, is the basis of the well-known English epigram about Dr. Fell. In the Latin it runs:

Non amo te, Sabidi, nec possum dicere quare:
hoc tantum possum dicere, non amo te.

Other appearances of this epigram between the time of Kendall and that of May are given below.

Weever, *op. cit.*, III, 20:

Translat. ex Martial.

Sabidi I loue thee not, nor why I wot,
But this I wot, *Sabidi* I loue thee not.

Sir Thomas Wroth, *The Abortiue of an Idle Hour* (1610), Epigram 73:

In Zabidium.

I Loue thee not Zabidius,
Nor can I stay so long
To tell thee why I hate thee thus,
Thy breath doth smell so strong.

Wroth quotes Martial's Latin in the margin.

To go well toward the beginning of it all, we must quote Martial, VIII, 35:

Cum sitis similes paresque vita,
uxor pessima, pessimus maritus,
miror non bene convenire vobis.

This Kendall translated as follows:

To a married couple, that could not agree.

Sith that you both are like in life,
(a naughty man, a wicked wife:)
I muse ye liue not voyd of strife.[1]

Twenty years later Thomas Bastard made and printed a version which may or may not owe something to Kendall's:

Translatum ex Martiali.

Neighbours, I meruaile much to see your strife,
Since ye are so well matcht, so like of life,
A most vile husband, a most wicked wife.[2]

Parkhurst had made two epigrams suggested by Martial's. The first is mere imitation:

In eandem [i.e., Afram].

Sat bene conueniet tibi cum Mopso Afra marito,
Pessima es ipsa vxor, pessimus ille vir est.[3]

The second is an amplification which may be represented by a few lines:

De Lollo & Caeciliana, marito & vxore.

Prandet rarò domi Lollus, facit idq*ue* lubenter:
Prandeat vt rarò, Caeciliana cupit.

.

Hic cum illa nunquàm cubat, id facit atque lubenter:
Vtque cubet nunquàm, Caeciliana cupit.
Vxorem cupit hic aliam, cupit atque lubenter:
Optat habere alium, Caeciliana virum.
O quanta est istos inter concordia? vterq*ue*
Quando lubenter idem nolit, idemq*ue* velit.[4]

[1] *Op. cit.*, sig. B 8.

[2] *Chrestoleros* (1598), V, 28. The fact that the rhyme-words are identical with Kendall's is not so significant as it might be, since these three are almost inevitable. More evidential is the identity of the phrase, "so like of life."

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 144.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 18–19.

This one Kendall translated as follows:

Of Lollus and Caeciliana, man and wife.

Seldome doth *Lollus* dyne at home,
and not against his will:
And that he seld may dine at home,
Caecilian wisheth still.
Seldome doth *Lollus* sup at home,
and not against his will:
And that he seld may sup at home,
Caecilian wisheth still.
Seldome doth *Lollus* sleepe at home,
and not against his will:
And that he seld may sleepe at home,
Caecilian wisheth still.
Seldome speakes *Lollus* with his wife,
and not against his will:
And that he may but seldome speake,
Caecilian wisheth still.
Seldome doth *Lollus* kisse his wife,
and not against his will:
And that he may but seld her kisse,
Caecilian wisheth still.
Seldome lyes *Lollus* with his wife,
and not against his will:
And that he may seld lye with her,
Caecilian wisheth still.
Lollus doth loue anothers wife,
and not against his will:
And for to haue another man
Caecilian wisheth still.
O what a passyng concord is,
betwene this man and wife?
What so the one of them doth loue,
the other likes of life.[1]

At this point Ben Jonson comes into the picture. In his *Epigrammes* of 1616 (published as a part of his *Workes*), No. 42 seems to have been suggested by Parkhurst's Latin or Kendall's English, or both:[2]

[1] *Op. cit.*, sigs. M 8–M 8v.

[2] Jonson's model in Parkhurst was pointed out by T. K. Whipple, *Martial and the English Epigram from Sir Thomas Wyatt to Ben Jonson* (Berkeley, 1925), p. 398 n.

On Giles and Ione.

Who sayes that *Giles* and *Ione* at discord be?
Th'obseruing neighbours no such mood can see.
Indeed, poore *Giles* repents he married euer.
But that his *Ione* doth too. And *Giles* would neuer,
By his free will, be in *Iones* company.
No more would *Ione* he should. *Giles* riseth early,
And hauing got him out of doores is glad.
The like is *Ione*. But turning home, is sad.
And so is *Ione*. Oft-times, when *Giles* doth find
Harsh sights at home, *Giles* wisheth he were blind.
All this doth *Ione*. Or that his long yearn'd life
Were quite out-spun. The like wish hath his wife.
The children, that he keepes, *Giles* sweares are none
Of his begetting. And so sweares his *Ione*.
In all affections shee concurreth still.
If, now, with man and wife, to will, and nill
The selfe-same things, a note of concord be:
I know no couple better can agree!

The reader may turn back to May's II, 45, and decide for himself whether it represents original work, a fresh variation upon Martial's VIII, 35, or a variation written with Kendall's translation of Parkhurst at hand (perhaps with some consciousness, as well, of Martial's Latin or Kendall's compact three-line version of it), or with the help of Ben Jonson's epigram to boot.

It is time to turn to another subject — that of the reappearance of some of May's epigrams in later anthologies. The collector of *Wits Recreations* (1640) chose five of them for reprinting.[1] In expanding the anthology for its second edition, the editor added three more selections;[2] but, in later editions, only three of the eight were retained.[3] One of these three, "To Critticus" (I, 54), was a rewriting of Kendall's version of Sir Thomas More's jest-epigram upon the young man who hesitated about kissing a long-nosed girl, one of the most widely circulated of all the jokes which More helped to start on their way in

[1] May's I, 14, 68, and II, 9, 75, 86, become Nos. 392–96 in *Wits Recreations*.
[2] May's I, 54, 77, and II, 56, become Nos. 501, 502, 524 in *Wits Recreations* (1641).
[3] That is, in 1654 (and presumably in later editions), only May's I, 54, 68, and II, 75, appear, as Nos. 553, 5, and 397. Besides appearing as No. 5, I, 68, was printed again as No. 395 in the same series.

England.[1] Perhaps we should regard May's rewriting of this jest as his most distinguished service to the epigram-tradition; since his version became the standard one from 1641 onward.

And, as the reader has perceived, it is only in his relation to the pervasive tradition of the epigram that Edward May takes on any importance or much interest. A final instance will further strengthen the argument. In the second book of *Saturnalia* of Macrobius, compiled about 400 A.D., appears this anecdote:[2]

Apud Lucium Mallium: qui optimus pictor romae habebatur: Seruilius Geminius forte coenabat. Cumq*ue* filios eius deformes uidisset: non similiter ĩquit Malli fingis & pĩgis. Et Mallius: In tenebris. n. fingo inquit: luce pingo.

The collector of *Mensa Philosophica* borrowed the anecdote and included it (with an erroneous reference to Macrobius's *third* book) in his fourth book, a collection of jests:[3]

Macro. tercio satur. Cu*m* seruilius mallii pictoris optimi filios deformes vidisset: ait. Non eq*ual*it*er* malli pingis. Cui mall*ius*. In tenebris q*uidem* fingo s*ed* in die pingo.

It appears, translated (by T. T.), in *The Schoolemaster* (1576; fol. v 2):

Macrobius in the second booke of the *Saturnalia*, wryteth ẏ when *Seruilius* of *Rome*, beheld the children of *Mallius*, an excellẽt painter, how mishapen & euyl fauored they were, sayd vnto him, *Mallius* why doest thou not paint likewise aswel for thy selfe, as thou doest for other men? To whome *Mallius* answered, I deuise in the night time, but I paynt in the day.

[1] In More's *Epigrammata* (Basle, 1518), p. 77, *De Tyndaro*; translated by Kendall, *op. cit.*, sigs. K 6v–K 7, "Of Tyndarus"; translated (into English hexameters) by Richard Stanihurst, *The First Foure Bookes of Virgils* Aeneis (1583), pp. 96–97, "Of Tyndarus, that frumped a gentlewoman for hauing a long nose, . . . "; translated and amplified by Francis Thynne, *Emblemes and Epigrames* (prepared for publication, 1600; ed. by F. J. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, 1876), p. 70, "A longe nose"; told in prose, *Mery Tales, Wittie Questions and Quicke Answeres* (1567), Jest 11, "Of him that kissed the mayd with the longe nose"; again, in *Pasquils Iests, mixed with Mother Bunches Merriments* (1604), twenty-sixth jest, "Of a yong Gentleman that would haue kissed a mayd with a long nose." *Pasquils Jests* saw four or five reprintings, one as late as 1669.

[2] As printed in the *editio princeps*, Venice, 1472; fol. [82].

[3] As printed at Cologne, *ca.* 1475; fol. [95].

W. B. translated the *Mensa* in 1609, omitting this jest; but in the enlarged edition of 1614 he added it, in the form:[1]

One asked a Paynter, why seeing that he could drawe such excellent proportions, hee begote such deformed children? Hee answered, I drawe at the one in the Day, but I worke at the other in the Night. [In the margin:] *In tenebris quidẽ fingo, sed in die pingo.*

In 1619 W. B. and E. P. joined in the compilation of *A Helpe to Discourse*, and took over this jest from among those of *The Philosophers Banquet*. As will be seen, the translation was improved, in that the rhyme of the antithetical words in Latin is imitated in the English:[2]

One asked a Painter, why, seeing hee could drawe such excellent proportions, hee begot such deformed children? Who answered, *In tenebris quidem fingo, sed in die pingo*, I make the one in the light, and the other in the night.

But in the meanwhile the story had come into English by another route. Georgius Sabinus (1508–60), a celebrated German scholar and teacher, son-in-law of the reformer Melanchthon, had included, among his voluminous Latin compositions, a versification of this jest, presumably as he had found it either in Macrobius or in the *Mensa Philosophica*, but changing the questioner from an emperor to the painter's wife. Then Léger Duchesne chose this piece of Sabinus's for inclusion in his *Flores Epigrammatum* (1555); and Timothe Kendall, making translations from Duchesne's anthology, in turn chose it for putting into English:

Of a painter: A pleasant and mery iest.

A Painter once (that was
a *Zeuxis* for his skill)
Had children foule, deformed, blacke
and of complexion ill.
His wife spake to hym thus in sport,
vpon a certen tyme:
Why dost thou plant so naughtly tell,
and paint so fayre and fine?
O wife (quoth he) you knowe I plant
in darkenes all the night:
But paint I doe when *Phoebus* raies
do cast a radiant light.[3]

[1] *The Philosophers Banquet* (1614), p. 252.
[2] *A Helpe to Discourse* (1627), p. 186.
[3] Kendall, *op. cit.*, sig. G 8.

Edward May had before him, as we know, both *A Helpe to Discourse* and *Flowers of Epigrammes*. It is clear, however, that he wrote his I, 66, from the *Helpe*, rejecting entirely the assistance of Kendall:

On a Painter.

One ask'd a Painter, seeing that he drew,
Such rare proportions to the life so true,
Why such deformed Children he begot;
He straight replyde, good Sir mistake mee not,
The one I lim and fashion in the light
With my best art, the other in the night.

When we notice that May has retained the very rhyme-words of the prose, we are inclined to look upon the production of these six lines as an example of communal authorship.

This brings us back to the questions, ethical and critical, involved in defining such terms as originality, imitation, and plagiarism. It is possible to look upon a *corpus* of accepted literature as a communal possession, free for anyone's use, and to consider anyone fortunate who can make an addition, however slight, to it, whether or not his name becomes attached to that addition. Such an attitude seems to have prevailed among some of the humanists of the sixteenth century, and it prevailed longest in academic circles. We do not, nowadays, expect a teller of good jokes to invent the jokes he tells or to give exact sources for them; it is enough that he collects them, produces them when they are timely, and tells them well. Some such feeling prevailed among the epigrammatists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries — though with least force among professional writers, who had a financial interest in their productions.[1] Among these, the sense of property became stronger, and the question of originality (or at least of prior claim) was raised.

[1] To support these generalizations would require a separate study. As a contrast between disinterested literary imitation and somewhat venal pilfering, we might notice the use made of two poems in Thomas Bastard's *Chrestoleros* (1598). The first poem in that collection runs:

de subiecto operis sui.

I speake of wants, of frauds, of policies,
Of manners, and of vertues, and of times,
Of vnthrifts, and of frends, and enimies,
Poets, Physitions, Lawyers, and Diuines,
Of vsurers, buyers, borowers, ritch and poore,

Edward May could have pointed to evidences of fairly sharp practice (from our modern point of view) in some of the books of epigrams with which he was familiar, and which he might properly take as models. Timothe Kendall's *Flowers*, of course, is an anthology, in which Kendall's own translations from his Latin sources are inter-

Of theeues, of murtherers by sea and land,
Of pickthankes, lyers, flatterers lesse and more,
Of good and bad, and all that comes to hand,
I speake of hidden and of open things:
Of strange euents, of countries farre and wide,
Of warrs, of captaynes, Nobles, Princes, kings,
Asia, *Europe*, and all the world beside,
This is my subiect, reader I confesse,
From which I thinke seldome I doe digresse.

Robert Herrick thus began his *Hesperides* (1648):

The Argument of his Book.

I sing of *Brooks*, of *Blossomes*, *Birds*, and *Bowers:*
Of *April*, *May*, or *June*, and *July*-Flowers.
I sing of *May-poles*, *Hock-carts*, *Wassails*, *Wakes*,
Of *Bride-grooms*, *Brides*, and of their *Bridall-cakes*.
I write of *Youth*, of *Love*, and have Accesse
By these, to sing of cleanly-*Wantonnesse*.
I sing of *Dewes*, of *Raines*, and piece by piece
Of *Balme*, of *Oyle*, of *Spice*, and *Amber-Greece*

— and so on, to an exactly equal length. Such is the way of a Herrick. In the other Bastard poem (VI, 1), we find:

Ad Lectorem.

Some mirth doth please, to some it is offence.
Some will haue vices toucht, some none of that,
Some will haue sleight cõceipt, some deeper sense,
Some wil haue this, and some they know not what,
And he which must please all and himselfe to,
Reader, I thinke something he hath to doe.

Compare with this the following lines from Samuel Rowlands (*The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-vaine* [1600]; here quoted from edition [n.d.] issued as *Humors Ordinarie*, sig. A 3):

Mirth pleaseth some, to others t'is offence,
Some wish t'haue follies told; some * dislike that:
Some commend plaine conceits, some profound sense:
And most would haue, themselues they know not what.
Then he that would please all, and himselfe too,
Takes more in hand then he is like to doo.

* Misprinted "seme" in the original.

spersed with translations he appropriated, sometimes with slight changes, from earlier English writers; and these last are printed with no acknowledgment to their makers. And then, among the "Trifles" which Kendall issued with his anthology and for which he claims authorship, May must have recognized the many echoes of the Greek Anthology and other sources, whether or not he noticed the rather wholesale borrowing of matter from Borbonius.[1] Going further, John Weever, who died as a respected antiquary at the time May presumably was compiling his book (in 1632), had made use of Kendall's work when writing his own youthful *Epigrammes in the oldest Cut and Newest Fashion* (1599). We have been looking at May's borrowings; but Weever had shown the way, as typical parallels will attest.[2]

Kendall, sig. I 8 (from Theodorus Beza):

To Cl. Marotus.

Apelles learned hand, so fine
did paint fair *Venus* Queene:
That euery one susposd that he,
had *Venus* vewd and seen.
But workes of thine *Marotus* lewd,
of *Venus* sauour so:
That euery one sure deemes, that thou
dost all of *Venus* know.

Weever, IV, 11:

In Spurium quendam scriptorem.

Apelles did so paint faire *Venus* Queene,
That most supposde he had faire *Venus* seene,
But thy bald rimes of *Venus* sauour so,
That I dare sweare thou dost all *Venus* know.

[1] See above, p. 35, n. 2.

[2] Weever's V, 20, and a passage from Kendall have already been compared (p. 41). Weever's V, 11, combines Kendall's "To one that called hym Spendall" and "To a Niggard that called hym vnthrift" (sig. S 1^{v}); cf. also Weever's V, 3, and VII, 9, with Kendall's "Against Claudia" (sig. N 5, from Parkhurst) and "A true saiyng" (sig. E 7, from Bruno). None of these relations to Kendall or to the secondary sources was pointed out by McKerrow in his edition (Stratford on Avon, 1911, 1922) of Weever's *Epigrammes*.

Kendall, sig. N 2-N 2^{v} (from Parkhurst):

Against Alanus.

Thou louest Doggs,
Doggs doest thou feede:
But thou doest hate
thy wife in deede.
Thou chidest her,
her doest thou beate:
Her thou doest spurne,
her thou doest threate:
And still with her
thou art at strife:
Better to be
thy Dog then wife.

Weever, I, 20:

In eundem [i.e., Nigellum]

Dogs thou dost loue, dogs thou dost feede,
Thy wife thou hat'st in time of neede;
And still with her thou art at strife,
Better to be thy dog than wife.

To follow May's and Weever's use of Kendall is to find in that slight figure more significance than he usually has been allowed to have. As for May, with whom we are mainly concerned, perhaps our heaviest charge against him should be of puerility rather than dishonesty, for much of *Epigrams Divine and Morall* should have remained in his exercise-book; on the other hand, he sometimes improves upon his models to such a degree that he wins credit for himself. In general, he is a "product" of his school training and of the decade in which he was writing, when originality and virility of wit seem to have flagged except in the rarest of minds.

TABULATION

The following tabulation lists one hundred and sixty-five of May's two hundred and one poems, and gives the location of the sources whence he drew them. *A Helpe to Discourse* accounts for seventy-four poems, *Flowers*

of Epigrammes for ninety, and one seems to have been made directly from Martial, independently of Kendall.[1]

Secondary sources have been indicated in many instances. These introduce into our study two new names, those of Roger Ascham (see II, 66, below) and George Turbervile (I, 88, and II, 78).

First Century:

[1] "On Christ, and the Virgin Mary"; *H. D.*, p. 5.
[2] "On Adam, Eve, and Christ"; *H. D.*, p. 5.
[3] "On Iosephs begging of Christs body of Pilot"; *H. D.*, p. 17.
[4] "On Christ"; *H. D.*, p. 16.
[5] "On Christ"; *H. D.*, p. 15.
[6] "De eadem"; *H. D.*, p. 32.
[7] "De eadem"; *H. D.*, p. 35.
[8] "De eadem"; *H. D.*, p. 35.
[9] "On Lazarus"; *H. D.*, p. 31.
[10] "Of Abraham"; *H. D.*, p. 31.
[11] "On Christs Crosse"; *H. D.*, p. 24.
[13] "De eadem" [i.e., hypocrisy, the subject of Epigram 12]; *H. D.*, p. 19; see above, p. 31.
[14] "De eadem"; *H. D.*, p. 30.
[15] "On an Hypocrite"; *H. D.*, p. 25; see above, p. 31.
[16] "To the Proud"; *H. D.*, p. 20.
[17] "On Mortality"; *H. D.*, pp. 35–36; see above, p. 33.
[18] "A caveat?"; *H. D.*, p. 9.
[19] "All's vanitie"; *H. D.*, pp. 88–89.
[20] "Saint Anselmes memento on the last day"; *H. D.*, p. 9.
[21] No title; *H. D.*, p. 10; see above, p. 32.
[22] "On a Toade"; *H. D.*, pp. 97–98.
[23] "To the Adulterer"; *H. D.*, pp. 81–82.
[24] "On Death"; *H. D.*, p. 11.
[25] "On Sinne"; *H. D.*, p. 112.
[26] "On Iustice"; *H. D.*, p. 113.
[27] "Of men tunes"; *H. D.*, p. 104.
[28] "To Superbus"; K,[2] sig. D 3, "To Sextus. Pittie: almes," from Pictorius; in Duchesne.

[1] The same is possibly true of II, 20–27, or some of them; yet the fact that May uses no epigram of Martial's which is not translated in Kendall is surely of significance.

[2] Kendall.

[29] No title; *H. D.*, p. 101.

[30] "A Microcosme"; *H. D.*, p. 95.

[31] "De eadem"; *H. D.*, pp. 95–96.

[32] "To Extortioners"; K, sig. E 1, "To Flaccus. Extortioners. Cormorauntes," from Pictorius; in Duchesne.

[33] "On Almesdeeds"; K, sig. E 1v, "To Marullus. Almesdeedes," from Pictorius; in Duchesne.

[34] "To Disimulation"; *H. D.*, p. 120.

[35] "Of Codrus"; K, sigs. H 3–H 3v, "Of Codrus," from Simon Vallambertus Avalon.

[36] "On a Dwarfe"; K, sig. H 2v, "Of a Dwarfe," from Ioannes Secundus; in Duchesne.

[37] "To old Omelia"; K, sigs. E 7–E 7v, "To Omellia," from Bruno.

[38] "To Flora"; K, sig. E 8v, "To Diana Ariosta," from Cynthius Ioannes Baptista; in Duchesne.

[40] "To Vesbia"; K, sigs. F 1–F 1v, "Vesbia," from Cynthius Joannes Baptista; in Duchesne; see above, p. 36.

[41] "To a covetous Churle"; K, sig. H 3, "To a couetous old Carle," from Simon Vallambertus Avalon.

[42] "Loves remedies"; K, sig. Q 3, "Remedies against loue"; among Kendall's own "Trifles" but based upon N. Bourbon, *Nugae* (1540), p. 96.[1]

[43] "Beautie and vertue seldome meet"; K, sig. Q 7, "Bewtie and Vertue seldom coupled."

[44] "To Slander"; *H. D.*, p. 120; see above, p. 33.

[45] "A Rule"; *H. D.*, pp. 105–6; see above, p. 34.

[46] "To rich Cressus, and poore Codrus"; K, sig. E 6, from Ausonius; in Duchesne.

[47] "On [misprinted ou] the Eyes"; *H. D.*, p. 91.

[48] "On a blind Man"; *H. D.*, p. 187.

[49] "To Claudia"; K, sig. O 4v, "Of Lydia," from Parkhurst, p. 32.

[50] "To Drusius"; K, sig. O 5, "Of Hassus, "from Parkhurst, p. 21.[2]

[52] "To Flora"; K, sig. G 6, "Of his deare deceased," from Ausonius; in Duchesne; see above, p. 37.

[53] "To Venus"; from Campion and K, sig. F 8v–G 1, "Against Venus," from Muretus; in Duchesne; see above, p. 28.

[54] "To Critticus"; K, sig. K 6v–K 7, "Of Tyndarus," from More; in Duchesne; see above, p. 45.

[1] James Hutton, *ut sup.*, p. 21.

[2] Parkhurst had also been followed, either directly or indirectly, by John Heath, *Two Centuries of Epigrammes* (1610), I, 95.

[55] "To Flora"; K, sig. S 2^{v}, "Translated out of an Italian writer"; Italian source not identified.

[56] "On marrying a Widow"; *H. D.*, p. 80.

[57] "On a Wife"; *H. D.*, p. 80.

[58] "Of marrying twice"; *H. D.*, p. 80; also in K, sig. H 5, "Wiuyng twise," from the Greek Anthology, and, again, sigs. Q 6^{v}–Q 7, "Of hym that marryes twise"; in More, *Epigrammata* (1518), p. 58 (in Latin); in Duchesne. May's version is an amplified one, and he might have picked up the point from either *H. D.* or K.

[59] "On a Strumpet"; *H. D.*, p. 86.

[60] "To a Foote man"; *H. D.*, p. 84; see above, p. 34.

[61] "To Madam Non-such"; suggestion, merely, in *H. D.*, p. 86.

[62] "To Catro"; suggestion in *H. D.*, pp. 86–87.

[63] "On one that would pay monie in the evening"; suggestion in *H. D.*, p. 87.

[64] "Of good Wine"; *H. D.*, p. 88.

[66] "On a Painter"; *H. D.*, p. 186; but see listing of sources above, pp. 46–48.

[67] "On a bald knavish Foole"; *H. D.*, p. 187.

[68] "On man and woman"; *H. D.*, p. 97.

[69] "On Marriage"; *H. D.*, pp. 102–3.

[70] "Of Physitions"; *H. D.*, p. 105.

[71] "To a notorious Lyar"; *H. D.*, p. 109.

[72] No title; *H. D.*, p. 118.

[73] "Of a Witch"; *H. D.*, p. 185.

[74] "On a Gull"; *H. D.*, p. 184.

[75] "On monie"; *H. D.*, p. 119.

[82] "To Women"; *H. D.*, p. 53.

[83] "On a Sheepe that gave a Wolfe sucke"; K, sig. F 7, "Of a sheepe that fostered a woolfe," and sig. F 7^{v}, "Againe of the same," from Erasmus, who had translated from the Greek Anthology, IX, 47; in Duchesne, as from Erasmus.

[85] "To Claudius"; K, sig. C 2^{v}, "To Phileros," from Martial (X, 43).

[86] "To Philenis"; K, sig. C 4, "To Philenis," from Martial (X, 22).

[87] "To Lalia"; K, sigs. A 4^{v}–A 5, "To Aelia," from Martial (I, 19).

[88] "To Venus"; K, sigs. G 4–G 4^{v}, "Of Venus is armour" and "The same otherwise," from Ausonius (Epigram 44), who imitated the Greek Anthology, XVI, 174; in Duchesne, as from Ausonius; "The same otherwise," in K, is reprinted from George Turbervile, *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets* (1567), sigs. O 2–O 2^{v}.

[89] "To the same, otherwise"; see preceding.
[91] "To Flora"; K, sig. G 1, "To Margaris," from Antonius Muretus.
[93] "To Lupus"; *H. D.*, p. 61; May adds personal application.
[94] "Who are most merry?"; *H. D.*, p. 72; in the source, four questions are asked, and then all four are answered in a single sentence. May gets this and the following three epigrams from the one passage.
[95] "Who most free?"; see note on No. 94.
[96] "Who most mad?"; see note on No. 94.
[97] "Who most blest"; see note on No. 94.
[98] "Of Marriage"; *H. D.*, p. 323.
[99] "To Vacera"; K, sig. C 5, "Of Legeia," from Martial, XII, 7.
[100] "To Zoylus"; K, sig. C 5, "Against Zoilus," from Martial, XI, 92.

Second Century:

[1] "A Comparison betwixt a Shippe and a Wife"; *H. D.*, p. 79.
[2] "On the Eyes"; *H. D.*, p. 83.
[4] "Mors vltima linea rerum"; *H. D.*, p. 99.
[5] "On Manuscripts"; *H. D.*, p. 121; from Owen; see above, p. 35.
[6] "On a Cut-purse"; *H. D.*, p. 190.
[7] "On a shee Papish"; *H. D.*, p. 190; point repeated in another form, p. 323.
[9] "To Fabulus"; K, sig. C 5^{v}, "To Fabullus. Of Themison," adapted from Martial, XII, 20.
[13] "Against praying for the dead"; K, sig. F 1^{v}, "Praiers for the ded, nothyng profit," from Textor; in Duchesne; see above, p. 37.
[14] "To Cotta"; K, sigs. O 2–O 2^{v}, "Of Cotta," from Parkhurst.
[16] "To Phylaene"; K, A 6^{v}, "Of Philaene," from Martial, IV, 65; see above, p. 41.
[17] "On Hermophroditas"; *H. D.*, pp. 135–36; May followed this rather than K, A 1, "Hermaphroditus speaketh," which Kendall translated from Duchesne, leaf 52 (among the selections from Angelus Politianus), *Latinum Epigramma Pulicis antiqui Poëtae, Graecum feci*; see also the translation by Sir John Harington, *Epigrams* (1618), III, 37; for information concerning Pulex and for the Latin text of the epigram, see also Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina Mediae et Infimae Aetatis* (Florence, 1858), VI, 327.
[18] "To Flacca"; independent translation from Martial, I, 32; see above, pp. 41–42.
[20] "To Cinna"; K, sig. A 8^{v}, "To Cinna," from Martial, V, 76.
[21] "To Laelius"; K, sig. A 4, "To Neuolus, a Lawier," from Martial, I, 97; May's version could be independent of Kendall's.

[22] "To Elisia"; K, sigs. B 1v–B 2, "To Gellia," from Martial, V, 29.

[23] "To Thraso"; K, sigs. B 6–B 6v, "Against Olus," from Martial, VII, 10.

[24] "On Arria and Paetus"; K, sig. A 3, "Of Arria, and Paetus," from Martial, I, 13; May expands greatly.

[26] "To Luper"; K, sigs. B 4–B 4v, "To Labienus," from Martial, V, 49.

[27] "On Leander"; K, sig. A 3, "Of Leander," from Martial, *Spect.*, 25b.

[28] "To Flora"; K, sigs. E 6v–E 7, "To his Ladie beloued," from Angelus Politianus; in Duchesne.

[29] "To a naughty Lawyer"; K, sig. S 2v, "To a naughty Lawier"; among Kendall's "Trifles."

[30] "To Labine"; K, sig. Q 7v, "To one that married a foule wife for riches"; among Kendall's "Trifles."

[31] "To marke a Vsurer"; K, sig. R 6v, "Of Mark miserable, that hanged hymselfe"; among Kendall's "Trifles" but translated from Bourbon, *Nugae* (1540), p. 27.

[32] "To Marcus"; K, sig. L 8, "Of Marcus," from H. Stephanus.

[36] "To Lacon"; K, sig. R 6, "Of Lacon"; among Kendall's "Trifles."

[37] "To a Braggart"; K, sig. R 2, "To a common Bragger"; among Kendall's "Trifles."

[38] "On a woman and a ship"; *H. D.*, p. 79.

[39] "On the Sun and mans thought"; *H. D.*, p. 83.

[40] "On the Pope"; *H. D.*, p. 99.

[41] "Truths aboue all"; *H. D.*, p. 98.

[42] "On a little Boy, who wore a sword"; *H. D.*, p. 98.

[43] "On small Beere"; *H. D.*, p. 181.

[45] "To Priscus and Galla . , . "; see above, pp. 42–45.

[46] "To Spurius and Stella"; K, sig. B 8, "Of Fabius, and Chrestella," from Martial, VIII, 43.

[48] "To Castellus"; K, sig. D 4, "To Caper. tauntes. backbityngs," from Pictorius; in Duchesne.

[53] "To Torpetus"; K, sig. M 7v, "Of Lupercus," from Parkhurst.

[55] "To his Picture"; K, sig. R 5, "Of his owne picture" and "Againe"; May follows the second rather than the first; among Kendall's "Trifles" but translated from Bourbon, *Nugae*, p. 350.

[56] "To Sixtus"; K, sig. M 8v, "To Sixtus," from Parkhurst.

[57] "To an vnskilfull Physician"; K, sig. Q 8, "To an vnskilfull Phisition"; among Kendall's "Trifles."

[58] "On a Drunkard"; K, sig. L 8^{v}, "An Epitaphe, of a notorious drunkard," from H. Stephanus.

[59] "Fiue things white"; K, sigs. R 6–R 6^{v}, "Fiue thynges white"; among Kendall's "Trifles."

[60] "To Torpetus"; K, sig. M 6, "To Torpetus," from Parkhurst.

[61] "To Aulus"; K, sig. L 8, "Of Aulus," from H. Stephanus; see above, p. 38.

[62] "To Callus"; K, sig. L 3, "Of Briandus Vallius," from Antonius Goveanus.

[63] "To one that brag'd he was nosd like K. Cyrus"; K, sig. Q 1, "To one that made his bragges that he was nosed like vnto kyng Cirus"; among Kendall's "Trifles."

[64] "Of mony and land"; K, sig. Q 1, "Of money and lande"; among Kendall's "Trifles" but translated from Bourbon, *Nugae*, p. 328.

[65] "To a Prodigall"; K, sigs. P 8^{v}–Q 1, "To one so giuen to goe braue . . ."; among Kendall's "Trifles."

[66] "A verse of Homer"; K, sig. O 8^{v}, "A verse of Homer," from Ascham, *A Report and Discourse written . . . of the affaires and state of Germany* (1570?), sig. C 1.

[67] "Of him that is in debt"; K, sig. O 2, "Of him that is in debt," from Parkhurst.

[68] "On a Foole bitten with Fleas"; K, sig. H 7^{v}, "Of a foole," from the Greek Anthology, XI, 432; in Duchesne.

[69] "On a Drunkard"; K, sig. N 5^{v}, "Of an egregious drunkard," from Parkhurst.

[70] "On a young man, and an old man"; K, sigs. N 6^{v}–N 7, "Of a certaine yongman, and a toothlesse sire," from Parkhurst.

[71] "When Women profit"; K, sig. H 8, "When Women profite," from the Greek Anthology, XI, 381; in Duchesne; but compare also K, sig. K 4^{v}, "Against Wiuyng," from More, whose variation from the model in the Greek seems to have influenced Kendall; see his "Of a wife" and "The same and shorter," sig. Q 7.

[72] "To Flora"; K, sigs. N 7^{v}–N 8, "To Pontinana, a mayd so called," from Parkhurst.

[73] "To Claudia"; K, sig. N 4^{v}, "Of Editha, trauelyng in child bed," from Parkhurst.

[74] "To Callice"; K, sigs. O 1–O 1^{v}, "Of Rob. Bartlet, and of one that had a foule big nose, and a precious (as they terme it)," from Parkhurst.

[75] "To Furnus"; K, sigs. O 4^{v}–O 5, "To Haerillus," from Parkhurst.

[77] "To a couetous Miser"; K, H 3v, "To a Niggarde," from Simon Vallambertus Avalon.

[78] "To one that painted Eccho"; K, sig. G 2v, "To one that painted Eccho," from Ausonius; but the version Kendall prints is by George Turbervile, *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets* (1567), sig. O 2v.

[79] "To her Loue"; K, G 6v, "Of hym self, and his frende," from Andreas Dactius; in Duchesne; see above p. 39, n. 3.

[80] "To Scatter-good"; K, sigs. G 8–G 8v, "A mery iest of a scatter-good," from Georgius Sabinus; in Duchesne.

[81] "To one fickle minded"; K, sig. K 8v, "To one light minded," from More; see above, p. 38.

[82] "To his Picture"; K, sigs. H 1–H 1v, "To his Image," from Angerianus; in Duchesne.

[83] "To the Reader"; K, sig. H 2, "To the Reader," from Angerianus; in Duchesne.

[84] "To Swillus"; K, sig. G 1v, "Of Pontilianus," from Marcus Antonius Muretus; in Duchesne.

[86] "On a Theefe"; K, sigs. E 8–E 8v, "A Iest of a Theefe," from Bruno.

[88] "On Loue"; K, sig. H 2v, "Loue is vncurable," from Secundus; in Duchesne.

[90] "On a foole that found a Crab-fish"; K, sigs. E 7v–E 8, "Of a Foole that found a Crab-fish," from Bruno.

[91] "To Petrus and Critticus"; K, sig. D 4v, "To Quirinus," from Pictorius; in Duchesne.

[92] "To Zoylus"; K, sig. D 5, "To Vrsus. a backbiter," from Pictorius; in Duchesne.

[93] "On a Surgeon"; *H. D.*, p. 104.

[96] "On a Louer"; K, sig. F 1v, "Of his straunge loue," from Baptista; in Duchesne.

[97] "To certaine Maidens playing with snow"; K, sig. N 1, "Of certaine faire maydens plaiyng with Snowe," from Parkhurst; see above, pp. 39–40.

[98] "To Sixtus"; K, sig. N. 1, "To Hallus," from Parkhurst.

[99] "On a Beggar"; K, sig. L 2, "Vppon the graue of a Beggar," from Pontanus; in Duchesne.

[100] "To his wife, which set a pot of Flowers in the window"; K, sig. O 2v, "To a wife, whiche set a pot full of flowers in her windowe," from Parkhurst; see above, p. 40.

[Unnumbered, sig. F 6] "To Zoylus"; K, sig. Q 5, "To Zoilus"; among Kendall's "Trifles."

Richard Earl of Carbery's Advice to His Son

EDITED BY VIRGIL B. HELTZEL

THE following personal and intimate treatise[1] of parental advice is from the pen of Richard Vaughan, second Earl of Carbery, a Royalist lieutenant general in the Civil Wars, and after the Restoration lord president of Wales and a privy councilor. Oldest son of John Vaughan, first Earl of Carbery in the kingdom of Ireland, and nephew of William Vaughan, celebrated author of *The Golden Grove Moralized* (1600) and *The Golden Fleece* (1626), he was born about 1600 and probably received his early instruction by private tutor at Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire, the ancient seat of the Vaughan family.[2] There is no record of his having attended either university, but allusions in the present work to his travels in Spain tend to corroborate James Howell's statement in a letter from Madrid, August 13, 1623, that "Mr. *Vaughan* of the *Golden-Grove* and I were Comrades and Bedfellows here many months together." He was a member of Parliament for Carmarthenshire, 1624–26 and 1628–29, and was made Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles I in February, 1626. Upon the death of his father,

[1] A somewhat garbled version of a little more than the first half of the present text was printed, as "Advice of William, Earl of Bedford, to His Sons," in *Practical Wisdom* (London, 1824; reprinted in 1901 and 1907), an anonymously edited anthology without introduction or commentary. This version ignores the instalment form of the original, omits all dates and what is clearly personal, often modernizes the grammar and diction, and reveals a number of misreadings or misinterpretations. The attribution of the work to William, Earl of Bedford (properly first Duke of Bedford), is obviously wrong, for the reference to the death of the author's wife (a personal passage allowed to remain in the derived version) would then be wholly inappropriate, since Bedford's wife died May 10, 1684, or a generation after Carbery's treatise was penned. The association of the work with the Bedford family, however, may be readily accounted for. William, Lord Russell, "the patriot," who was the third son of the first Duke, married in May, 1669, the widow of Francis ("Frank") Vaughan, to whom Carbery addresses his advice. It is probable, therefore, that she brought a copy of the original to her husband, Bedford's son.

[2] For biographical details I have drawn freely from the article on Richard Vaughan by D. Lleufer Thomas in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, and from *The Complete Peerage by G. E. C.*, new ed., by Vicary Gibbs, III (London, 1913), *sub* "Carbery."

May 6, 1634, he succeeded to the title as second Earl of Carbery. He was admitted to Gray's Inn February 15, 1638.

In the conflict between King and Parliament Carbery wavered in his allegiance. Before the beginning of actual hostilities he had been nominated by Parliament lord lieutenant in charge of militia to be raised in the counties of Carmarthen and Cardigan, and by the end of 1642 had been appointed by the King lieutenant general of the loyal forces in the counties of Carmarthen, Cardigan, and Pembroke. At Oxford, on October 25, 1643, he was created Baron Vaughan of Emlyn, County Carmarthen, and on November 17 became governor of Milford. In March of the next year he was defeated and driven out of Pembrokeshire by Major General Rowland Laugharne, whereupon he promptly resigned his command, retired to Golden Grove, and thereafter took no active part in military affairs. Whatever the causes of his defeat and resignation may have been, he was roundly denounced by the loyalists, some charging him with a "naturall cowardize" and others, with a "designe to be overcome." The House of Commons, which in 1643 voted to impeach him for high treason, passed an ordinance on January 26, 1647, pardoning him.[1] It is likely that his influence among prominent Parliamentarians gained him this leniency. In the spring of the following year he was ready to display his loyalty to Parliament by lending his influence against Poyer's insurrection in South Wales. Thus, in the course of a few years he had moved from loyal support of the King to at least an acquiescence in the policies of the opposite party.

During the period of the Commonwealth, probably heeding the advice he asked his son to follow "in case the Times are rough and dangerous to sayle in," Carbery apparently drew himself within his "priuate Walles to enjoy the happinesse of a holy, quiett and innocent Repose." His second wife, Frances,[2] "that Deare Saint, the best of Wiues, the best of Mothers and Frinds," as he calls her, died Oc-

[1] *Commons' Journals*, V, 64.

[2] Daughter of Sir John Altham of Oxhey, Herefordshire, she was married to Lord Carbery August 8, 1637, at the age of sixteen. His first wife was Bridget, daughter and sole heir of William Lloyd of Llanllyr, Cardiganshire. Thomas Lloyd was not her father, as *Dict. Nat. Biog.* and *The Complete Peerage* state, but her cousin. See Samuel R. Meyrick, *History and Antiquities of the County of Cardigan* (Brecon, 1907), p. 238. I have not been able to learn the date of her birth, marriage, or death.

tober 9, 1650, and in July, 1652, he married Lady Alice Egerton, daughter of Sir John Egerton, first Earl of Bridgewater. She had been a pupil of Milton's friend Henry Lawes, and at Ludlow Castle on Michaelmas Night, 1634, had acted the role of the Lady in *Comus*. In the late summer of 1651 Carbery penned his "Advice to his Son." Since 1645 he had been a friend and patron of Jeremy Taylor, his chaplain. This relationship was abruptly terminated in 1655 when Taylor tactlessly called his manual of prayers, with its fiery preface against the Parliamentarians, *The Golden Grove*, and dedicated to Carbery later in the same year that "severe book," *Unum Necessarium*, which made its author so many enemies. In 1660 Carbery was appointed lord president of Wales. He named Samuel Butler his secretary and made him steward of Ludlow Castle, where he is said to have written the first part of *Hudibras*. Carbery was removed from this office in 1672 because of alleged mistreatment of his servants and tenants at Dryslwyn near Golden Grove, some of whom, it was said, had "theyr eares cut of, and one his tongue cut out, all dispossessed." He was a member of the Privy Council from September 13, 1661, to April 21, 1679. He died December 3, 1686.

It has been difficult to arrive at even an approximation to the true character of the second Earl of Carbery. Because he shifted his political allegiance in a civil controversy he was naturally, if often unjustly, denounced by the Royalists and suspected by the Parliamentarians. But the testimony of his political enemies should be accorded little weight if in the other side of the balance there is substantial evidence of his integrity. This is supplied not only by the official documents relating to his military activities,[1] by the loyalty and support of his friends of both parties when he was in trouble, and by his patronage of Jeremy Taylor, but most of all by the revelation of his character in the present treatise. The ambiguity of his political attitude can be better appreciated in the light of his advice to his son:

First, be sure to ballast your selfe well by calling in to your ayde all the aduantages of Learning, Arte and Experience; Then consider how to fitt your Sayles to the Bulke of your Vessell, least you proue a Slugge or ouer-

[1] For particulars about his campaign in southwestern Wales, see John R. Phillips, *Memoirs of the Civil War in Wales and the Marches* (2 vols.; London, 1874), *passim*, and especially the documents printed in the second volume.

sett. And because Common-Wealths haue theire shelues and Rockes, therefore gett the Skill of Coasting and shifting your Sayles, I meane to arriue at your Ends by Compassings and an honest complyance.

Carbery's patronage of Jeremy Taylor is one of the bright spots of his career. It was probably through his intercession that Taylor was released by his Parliamentarian captors in 1645, and soon thereafter he took up his abode at Golden Grove and became his benefactor's chaplain. For the next ten years he and his relatives were partially supported by his new patron and protector, so that he was free to preach and enabled to write, under the acknowledged inspiration of the young and saintly Lady Carbery, the major portion of his best work. To this noble lady he dedicated the third part of *The Great Exemplar* (1649), and for her use he composed *Holy Dying* (1651) "to minister to her piety." On October 9, 1650, he saw her die, and a few days later preached her funeral sermon in which he extolled her saintly virtues and gave her the character of a wife and mother worthy of the tribute paid her by her husband in his "Advice to his Son." To Lord Carbery himself Taylor dedicated *Holy Living* (1650), *Holy Dying* (1651), *Twenty-seven Sermons* (1651), *Twenty-five Sermons* (1653), and *Unum Necessarium* (1655). In the dedication prefixed to his *Holy Dying*, as in almost all these dedications, Taylor expresses his great admiration for Lady Carbery and his gratitude for the help Lord Carbery has given him. In his work as a minister, "mean as it is," he says,

> I must give God thanks for the desires and the strength, and next to him, to you for that opportunity and little portion of leisure which I have had to do it in; for I must acknowledge it publikely (and besides my prayers, it is all the recompence I can make you) my being quiet I owe to your Interest, much of my support to your bounty, and many other collaterall comforts I derive from your favour and noblenesse.[1]

However much or little Taylor's feelings of gratitude may have caused him to magnify his admiration for Lord and Lady Carbery, the earnest nature of the father's advice to his son leaves no doubt of his serious religious nature, his admiration for learning, his strong attachment to

[1] *Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying* (London, 1651).

his family, and his practical worldly wisdom. His marked emphasis upon a devout life and good learning — two desiderata he places above all others — reveals him as a worthy patron of Jeremy Taylor and a sympathetic companion of Lady Frances his wife.

Carbery's "Advice to his Son" belongs to a type of courtesy book that attained great popularity in seventeenth-century England — the book of parental advice.[1] Treatises of this type usually consisted of impersonal, conventional, and often homely counsel. Some of them were written with a view to immediate publication; others (such as perhaps Burghley's *Precepts* [1616] and Ralegh's *Instructions* [1632], for example) were composed after their supposed authors' deaths; while still others were written as personal communications of a private nature and were never intended to be read outside the family circle. That Carbery's "Advice to his Son" may be assigned to the last class there can be no reasonable doubt. Resembling a series of letters, the work is composed of seven instalments, written at Golden Grove from August 14 to September 30, 1651, and addressed to Frank (Francis) Vaughan, the eldest son and heir of the author. Francis, it may be inferred, was born in 1638,[2] and would have been thirteen years of age at the time the treatise was written. It is likely he received his early schooling under William Wyatt, William Nicolson, and Jeremy Taylor, who had a school called Newton Hall not far from Golden Grove in Carmarthenshire. Unlike his brother John, he probably never attended a university. At the early age of fifteen he married Rachael, daughter of Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, sometime Lord Treasurer. He was M.P. for Carmarthenshire from 1661 till his death without issue in 1667. Nothing more is known of his character than the rather careful analysis his father gives in the "Advice."

As a private communication addressed to and designed primarily for Francis Vaughan, the "Advice" should be regarded, not as an expression of what the author might have written to the young noblemen

[1] For the fullest discussion of such treatises see John E. Mason, *Gentlefolk in the Making* (Philadelphia, 1935), especially chapters 3 and 4.

[2] He was the first son of Carbery's union with Francis Altham, August 8, 1637. The second son, John, was baptized July 18, 1639. In all probability, therefore, Francis was born in the summer of 1638.

of England, but, in its emphasis upon certain matters and its partial neglect or complete omission of others, as a work fitted to the needs of a single individual. Hence, in an attempt to place the work with respect to its backgrounds in literature in general and courtesy literature in particular, it should perhaps be considered as merely representative of Carbery's own views. Accordingly, in order to bring the individuality of the treatise into relief, many of the traditional and conventional ideas have been excluded from discussion here.

Since Carbery wrote in a period of transition when Renaissance doctrines of courtesy were giving way to the new teachings of the Restoration, it is but natural that, with certain qualifications, he should have united in his philosophy of the gentleman's equipment for a career the two dominant criteria of each age. His requirement of religion (his own kind, of course) and learning recalls a former age, and his emphasis on experience (or knowledge of the world) and "art" is characteristic of the Restoration. He did not, as the early humanists were inclined to do, regard learning as a substitute for experience in the world of men, nor did he have the fear of scholarship that made dilettantes of many eighteenth-century gentlemen in all except the social graces. Lacking any one of these four qualifications, a man, in Carbery's opinion, could only act the part of a nobleman, not be one; certainly he could hardly achieve high place.

In his injunctions regarding religion Carbery naturally does not follow the tradition perpetuated by middle-class authors of courtesy, but, like many another nobleman of his century and especially of the next, he expresses a tolerance of all its manifestations except schism and fanaticism. The way is plain: "If any man will Doe his Will, he shall knowe of the Doctrine." Quibbling and controversy were alike distasteful to him. Hence, he would not have his son wear the label of a sectarian: "For thy Religion, distinguish not thy selfe by, be not factious for, nor serue vnder any Sect whatsoever. Be thou a Christian, the most pure, certayne, noblest Worshipp of God of all others." If, however, he should be compelled to choose, let him "Enquire after, and embrace that whose Principles conduce most to Piety, that which comes nearest the Rule, the Doctrine of Christ." Like many another man of an age flooded with books of piety and devotion, Carbery in-

sists that Francis be pious and allow nothing to interfere with his daily devotions.

Next to fear of God he places "Honour to the King" and duty to family. Whatever may have been Carbery's feelings of loyalty when he resigned his command and later compromised with Parliament, he was hardly ambiguous in August, 1651, when he wrote: "If thou dost honour thy Father and Mother, thou canst neyther be Rebell or Schismatique, disloyall to the Soveraigne power, or disobedient to the Church." His comments on domestic relations are, as might be expected in a private discourse, more personal, original, and practical than those ordinarily found in books of parental advice. He is as anxious to be worthy of his son as that his son should be of him. Realizing that in a united family, including all relatives, there is great strength, he advises Francis that his duty is not done when he has loved and cared for them all; he must see to it that fires of discontent are extinguished and that the members of the family love one another. The prestige of the family must be preserved now and in the future. In order to help his son toward this end, he intends to prepare for his use "more secret Instructions" giving "a particular of those faithfull Frindes and servants to your Family, whose Counsells you may followe, and whose service you may trust." Curiously enough, he gives no advice concerning marriage, a subject to which much space was usually devoted by writers of courtesy books, nor does he comment on the proper behavior of a young gentleman in the company of women. What relation these omissions may bear to Francis' marriage, two years later, at the tender age of fifteen, must be left to conjecture.

Carbery devotes fully one-third of his work to the subject of education. Not a university man himself, he displays an amazing respect for learning and learned men. He charges Francis, whatever else he may leave his heirs, to "be sure to giue them a learned and liberall Education, There being in my Iudgement noe other way to secure you from falling from Honour and from the despights of Fortune." A noble person before all others has need of learning, and consequently must contribute most time to it; and "a Learned, holy Man (and such a one I wold faine haue thee to be) lookes like an Angell in flesh, a mortall Cherubin." Study being Francis' chief employment at the moment, his father draws up many shrewd and practical "Rules of

study," compiled, he tells us, from what he has "heard very learned men speake concerning Bookes, and the true vse of them." Many of these instructions, such as those on the necessity of interest and attention, cultivation of the memory, the reading of poetry (which is allowed if "cleane, chast and not effeminate"), and avoidance of night studies, were traditional. The chewing-and-digesting metaphor, used to illustrate the proper method of reading — a figure which Bacon's essay "Of Studies" did much to popularize in this period — appears here in elaborated form among the observations on study. Yet many of the rules are so clearly personal in character that they seem to have been born only of the author's experience as a careful and diligent student.

Carbery does not attempt, as many writers before him had done, to set forth a whole program of studies with appropriate recommendations for each. He has left that, as he intimates, to his son's tutor. He does make a few recommendations, however, that should be mentioned. He has the traditional view that history is the most important of all studies: "Be a diligent Reader of history, that's the Noblemans best schoole." He recommends but one book by title, "Tullies' Offices, A most wise and vsefull Booke, where you shall haue Excellent Philosophy Excellently drest." There is good reason for according this work the signal honor of sole mention, for, both before Carbery's time and long afterward, it was often singled out by writers as one of the most important works a gentleman should know. He would have his son acquire "a good sufficiency in the Knowledge of the Lawes and Customes of the Land," to enable him to be his own solicitor and to insure him against unnecessary troubles from litigious men. Beyond these subjects, all of them traditional, Carbery makes no recommendations, if we except language. To that he gives more attention than to any other kind of learning, apparently believing that it is the most frequent measure of the man in society and in public life. While advice on oratory is common to the whole tradition, and detailed discussions of conversation are frequent in later seventeenth-century courtesy books, the importance Carbery assigns to the acquisition of appropriate language, both written and oral, and especially to the cultivation of style by imitation, is one of the more remarkable features of his treatise. He has but little to say concerning recreations

and exercises, a subject which earlier writers had been accustomed to treat at length in their discussions of the gentleman's education. Without mentioning a single recreation or exercise, he disposes of the topic by giving a few general and time-worn admonitions. In thus slighting a subject that had the sanction of tradition, he seems to foreshadow writers of a later date. Travel, which had long been considered an essential part of an English gentleman's education, is neither recommended nor condemned, although Carbery does refer to what he had learned on his travels in Spain. It may be that in all this he was not attempting to repeat a program already drawn up by his son's tutor, or that the unusual emphasis on certain features of training and the partial neglect or omission of others may have their explanation in the potential abilities and the weaknesses of young Francis Vaughan.

Lord Carbery's insistence upon a liberal education as essential to the nobleman is but one proof of his conviction that nobility is not inherited but acquired. "Ingenious Manners first made vs Noble, marked out and advanc'd our Family first to Honour; with equall reason and more facility will such Manners preserue vs noble, which is most certainly effected by Education." He recognizes that birth sets one apart from the vulgar and that the nobleman must perform actions which will place him above them. "Suspect all thinges they admire; neyther thinke theire opinions, nor Live theire Manners." Their greatest fault is that they have not a right judgment of things and men; they are unable to distinguish reality from superficial appearances. He would have his son learn to set a true value on things and be able to discern a man's real motives and thoughts behind the apparent ones. What might be, and later was, called "knowledge of the world" as distinguished from mere knowledge of books thus becomes, in Carbery's judgment, an important supplement to learning in the education of the nobleman. Preliminary to the acquisition of this knowledge is the necessity of knowing oneself, and self-knowledge he considers "the most profitable and necessary knowledge in the world." To this end Francis must lay himself open to himself, make an annual inventory of his abilities and weaknesses, and set out his own character in writing. Every man, Carbery believes, has at least one weakness, and it is his son's first duty to discover his own. If he

cannot remedy it or remove it by ordinary means, he must resort to art. He must cultivate the virtue next to it or dissemble his excellences as defects, so that when he is called to trial and has cleared himself of his supposed infirmities, men will hardly be inclined to suspect him guilty of his real ones. This art of dissimulation, however, must be allowed to go no further than may be necessary to cover up his infirmities; but art must be used to conceal that art. If he would know other men, he must learn to see through their dissimulation, for, like Bacon, Carbery believes that "the Cunningest of them all will sometimes stepp out of his Dissimulation, eyther vpon a heate be it of Wine or Anger, or a Brauery; sometimes vpon a Kindnesse or trouble of Mind. Therefore in all Conferences of importance, watch each suddayne passage and surprize; for then the Gate of discouery opens." He would not have his son practice "a Spanish Counter-dissimulation," however, by telling a lie to find a truth. In estimating the ability and worth of another man he must not trust to report; in fact, in all such cases "slownesse of Beliefe and a little distrust are great supportes of Wisedome and security."

Carbery asks for the same guarded, shrewd attitude toward all men who may bear special relationships to his son. Friends should be sorted according to their abilities, but there should always be one who has "generall knowledge and insight in the World." A froward friend should be received with caution because he may "ingage you to defend his Quarrells and buy his Peace." Enemies may prove helpful because they do not flatter, and they "will exercise your Vertues." No man is so mean that one can afford to contemn him. Revenge, a subject which Bacon had treated with some finality, does not appear among the weapons Carbery commends. On the contrary, he would have his son win from an adversary without boasting or insolence, and lose in such a way as to make the conqueror ashamed of his victory. Acts of generosity often transform an enemy into a friend. Servants should not be given harsh answers, but should be punished when they deserve it. However, all unpleasant dealings with them should ordinarily be intrusted to an inferior. Above all, the son is warned to avoid familiarity with them, and to regard them as potential spies. If they humor him in his vices, they should be suspected; but if they speak truth to his dislike, they should be treasured.

The interest that Carbery shows in language and the cultivation of style, which he undoubtedly considers a great aid in the "art" the son must use to win men to him, is also exhibited in his discussion of conversation. He would have Francis prepare himself in advance by cultivating a good presence — "a becomming, pleasing Grauity" devoid of all affectation and singularity. Most men, he believes, may be read by their looks, garb, and gait. These details of appearance and behavior are letters of commendation to make a good impression on those he would converse with. Recognizing that they are trivial, he says he would not give so much advice about Francis' "Outside," "did I not knowe how much the greatest parte of the World are guided by it, and what notable aduantages are gain'd thereby even vpon some very wise men." Like most of his predecessors in this kind of writing, Carbery insists upon a graceful, distinct speech in language that is "cleare, proper, significant and intelligible, fitted to the subiect, which as neare as you can, shold be according to the humors of the persons you conuerse with." Decorum must be observed here as in all else; that is to say, one should suit his discourse to the time, the place, and the person — an injunction which had its origin in Cicero. He should avoid commonplaces and cultivate variety. He should use a pleasantness of wit, if he has it, and repartee will prove advantageous "if euer you shalbe necessitated to deale with the Courte, or your acquaintance shall ingage you into the Conuersation of the other sexe, which is generally strongly delighted with this dexterity of witt." If he frequents the company of learned men, he should ask questions, if they be not trifling ones, for by so doing he may learn a great deal more than books can teach him and he will please the speaker, for nothing so delights a man as to talk about a subject on which he is an expert. He should be sparing of his speech and practice deliberation. Under no circumstances should he ever give way to passion, but he should seek to arouse it in an adversary if he would worst him in a dispute. On questions with which he is not familiar he should dissemble his ignorance by silence or by "sliding from the dispute into something like it" wherein he is conversant. Censuring, fawning, and flattery are frowned upon, for the first will invite censure in return, and the others are beneath a nobleman. Various additional instructions are given on this topic, but they will not be mentioned here because

they are for the most part traditional and do not bear the stamp of the author's individuality.

Carbery's eclecticism is perhaps the most striking feature of his work. He expressed the dominant ideas of the Renaissance and the most frequently emphasized teachings of his own generation and the next, without displaying the impracticality of the earlier age or the superficiality of the later. In general, his emphasis upon religion and learning hark back to former generations as truly as his insistence upon knowledge of the world and the use of art foreshadow the Restoration. But, though he valued religion and scholarship above all else, as the Renaissance had done, the tolerant, nonsectarian attitude which he advocates is hardly to be found in the courtesy literature of Renaissance England; and, if we may judge from his clearly fragmentary sketch of studies to be pursued, his program of learning, with its neglect of classical languages, physical exercises, and travel, was not the kind that earlier educators would have approved. Moreover, his religion is that of the pious aristocratic Cavalier, while his departures from the usual Renaissance program of studies are in harmony with a movement already under way — a movement resulting from the decadence of humanism and manifesting itself, on the one hand, in satire directed against "pedantry" and university methods, and, on the other, in a forthright advocacy of sciolism, social graces, and knowledge of the world. Carbery, however, does not go so far as his contemporaries and successors did in this respect, for, instead of setting knowledge of the world in opposition to book learning, he makes them complementary. But here again he vacillates between concurrence with his predecessors and successors, and striking disagreement with them. The arts of dissimulation and flattery, for example, although practiced in the sixteenth century, were usually condemned. But Carbery, it will be recalled, specifically recommends dissimulation to cover one's weaknesses and to get behind the masks others wear, and definitely condemns flattery as unworthy of a nobleman. Both of these arts often received considerable attention in Restoration treatises as practical aids to advancement. The detailed attention which Carbery gives to conversation and the art of pleasing are characteristic of the later rather than the earlier age, and yet he wholly neglects discussion of the gentleman's role in the presence of

ladies — a topic often enlarged upon in the Restoration when the company of ladies came to be regarded as the best school of manners. Carbery was a serious student of Bacon, and appropriated certain of his ideas (though rejecting others, which he might have been expected to adopt); and Bacon's influence is often suspected where it cannot be proved. Carbery probably was also familiar with some of the more practical manuals for courtiers which had been appearing in England since the beginning of the century. As for his attitude toward the world in general, he shows nothing of the cynicism of his time, perhaps best expressed by Francis Osborne in *The Advice to a Son* (1656), but much of its piety; and, although he is shrewd and worldly wise, he exhibits none of the cold analysis of Francis Bacon. Though not fully comprehensive, his teachings, considered as a whole and with respect to their place in the tradition of courtesy, seem to constitute a well balanced body of doctrine set forth by a man of some civility and culture, who reveals a considerable stock of practical wisdom and an originality in his observation of affairs that was dictated by pragmatical considerations and drawn from his experience with books and the world.

Carbery's "Advice to his Son" is printed from Ellesmere MS 34 B 2 in the Huntington Library. It is bound in contemporary calf, with blind-tooled panels, measures $5\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ inches, and originally consisted of thirty-four leaves (the verso of the last leaf blank), with three blank leaves at the beginning and at the end. When the treatise was bound, two blank leaves, which have a different watermark from that of the original sheets, were added, at the beginning and end, as a covering for the manuscript. It is written in the same hand throughout, and the flyleaf bears the following inscription, in another though not very dissimilar hand: "The R:^{t} Hon:^{ble} Richard Earle of Carbery his Advice to his Sonn." Although no sample of Carbery's authenticated handwriting was available for comparison, corrections in the manuscript suggest that it is in the hand of the author. For example: on folio 1, verso, "may" is canceled and followed by "will," in the parenthesis, "God knowes how soone he will make a long separation betweene vs"; on folio 6, recto, "great or your owne" is changed to read "great and your owne"; and on folio 14, recto, "Let your Letters

be facile" is altered to "Let your Stile be facile." The last instalment of the treatise is dated September 30, 1651. In July of the following year Carbery married Lady Alice, daughter of John Egerton, first Earl of Bridgewater. She survived her husband and was buried in Westminster Abbey, July 19, 1689. The manuscript was in all probability preserved by Lady Alice and added to the Bridgewater Library, where it remained until it came to the Huntington Library with the purchase of the Ellesmere collection.

The following text reproduces the manuscript with but few variations. Marginal Arabic numerals have been placed at the beginnings of paragraphs throughout, and marginal topics in the first half of the manuscript have been centered to conform to the author's practice in the second half of the work. Contractions and abbreviations (ye, yt, wch, wth, Sr:, yo:r, etc.) have been expanded, and the ampersand and Arabic numerals in the text have been converted into words. For the author's inconsistent possessive forms, *it's* and *its'*, the modern *its* has been used. His somewhat peculiar use of capitals has been retained, except that where his intention is not clear (and there are many such instances, especially in the case of his E, K, P, and S), and for the first letter of a sentence, modern usage has been followed. The original punctuation has been preserved unless it was contrary to the author's usual practice elsewhere, or might offer unnecessary difficulty to the reader. Periods have been frequently supplied at the ends of sentences, and the exclamation point has been substituted for the question mark after exclamatory statements. A word erroneously repeated has been silently omitted, and the editor's interpolations in the text have been inclosed in square brackets. The commentary has been limited chiefly to explanation of textual matters and illustration of Carbery's borrowings from others.

THE EARL OF CARBERY'S ADVICE TO HIS SON

Deare Francke:

Ignorance and vice are the vsuall effects of an vnlearned, vndisciplined Education. Of my passionate desire to free you and your Brother from both these, I suppose I haue given you and the whole world a sufficient testimony; sure I am I haue satisfied my selfe.

You may guesse how violent my Longings are to advance your Pietie and vnderstandinges, that is, to render you both perfect men. My Death (which I slight vpon all other considerations) is then only displeasing, when I thinke of dying before I see this my desire accomplished, at least soe farre secured, as my hopes may be greater then my feares.

It is not a yeare since I could haue intertayned Death with much cheerefullnesse. For then your Excellent Mother [1] (my dearest Wife and Heart) was vpon earth, who having the same soule, as I may say, had alsoe the same Cares and Designe for Posterity with me, vpon whose strict conformity to my desires, steady Prudence and most tender Love I could haue built very strong hopes of your future happinesse. But since it hath pleas'd God to take from me the Partner of my Cares, and (vnder God) the security of your Education, and that Death every day makes his approches neerer and neerer (God knowes how soone he will make a long separation betweene vs), And for this other Regard too, that neither whilst I live, I shalbe allwayes with thee, Be this then receaued eyther as a Legacy or a Letter. For the Will of a dying, or the advise of a Living Father, if it be obserued and obeyed in eyther capacity, I shall thinke myselfe neyther dead nor absent. I put it into your handes with a Prayer, That God wold giue it his Blessing, and then you haue mine.

It was the wisest saying of the wisest Man, The Feare of God is the beginning of Wisedome.[2] Holinesse then is the introduction of all Wisedome; soe it shall be the first of my Advice. Feare God. And if Holinesse giue thee Knowledge, Knowledge will giue thee happinesse, long life, Riches and Honour. Length of dayes is in the right hand of Wisedome, and in her left hand Riches and Honour,[3] sayd the Wise King. How excellent a thinge then is Religion, which is the great Mother of soe great Blessings! And who will pitty thy Complaints for the want of any of these, if they be obtayned by the pleasure of that which will allsoe crowne thee with Heaven: an Holy Life. Be pious [fol. 2] and thou art all these. Feare God, and thou shallt not feare

[1] Frances, daughter of Sir John Altham of Oxhey, Herefordshire. She died October 9, 1650. For other information regarding her see the introduction.

[2] Note in the left-hand margin: "Pro. 1. 7."

[3] Note in the left-hand margin: "Pro: 2. 16."

Man or Diuell; for it will sett thee aboue the reach of Fortune or Malice.

Religion.

For thy Religion, distinguish not thy selfe by, be not factious for, nor serue vnder any Sect whatsoever. Be thou a Christian, the most pure, certayne, noblest Worshipp of God of all others. But if thou art prest to giue vp thy name to any one Profession, Enquire after, and embrace that whose Principles conduce most to Piety, that which comes nearest the Rule, the Doctrine of Christ. And in the examinations of Questions in Religion though I am noe Divine, yet I dare venture to guide your Conscience thus farre. Bee carefull still to search into the Consequences of a Doctrine, Rely on those Scriptures which are without Exposition playne, and which if they offerre iniury to the Attributes of God, rendring them such as wee wold abhorre our selues to be, or if they open the gate to Loosenesse and Profanenesse, by noe meanes giue them intertaynment. Lastly, Labour diligently to find the Truth, when God shall inable you with abilities for that great worke (For I wold not haue you owe your Religion to your Education only); and for your incouragement to the search of this Truth, heedfully Remember that most Excellent saying of our Blessed Saviour, If any man will Doe his Will, he shall knowe of the Doctrine, whether it be of God or Man.[1] God neuer denied himselfe to him that sought him by Prayer and Holinesse of Life. And when you haue thus happily found this Divine Truth, Embrace it sincerely, and follow it constantly, and be sure to giue it honour by your Conversation.

Loyalty.

Next to the feare of God, the Apostle Commandes Honour to the King, which if it be not the summe of the second Table, as the other is of the First, it cannot be denied to be the principall and maine pillar thereof. And let me tell thee, if thou dost honour thy Father and Mother, thou canst neyther be Rebell or Schismatique, disloyall to the Soveraigne power, or disobedient to the Church.

[1] Note in the left-hand margin: "John 7. 17."

Duty to Parents.

As for your Duty to me, I doubt but it will growe vp with your Vnderstanding. And when you knowe how nice and curious my Care hath beene ouer your Education even to the least circumstance, my prying into your inclination, observing the bent of your soule, her first putting forth heightening the good and checking the ill, placing Guardes vpon your Sences and Con-[fol. 3]uersation, not only pointing out the way to vertue, but putting your feete into it, and teaching you to tread it (I speake not of fashioning and adorning your Body; for I wold not haue you to measure my Love and gay Clothes, noble diett and Recreation, though you inioyed these in some measure) — when you come to knowe and iudge of this, I haue reason to expect, and therefore may boldly Challenge that if you were to choose a Father you wold seeke me out. Shold you now soe behaue your selfe, that as if I were to choose a Sonne, to adopt a Gentleman into my Family to inheritt my Name and Fortunes, you only I shold pitch vpon, Besides the Ioy of beholding it, I shold haue a requitall even to my wish. Nor were it possible for you to die in my debt for your Education if you obserue this: with like Care to bring vp your Children alsoe (if it shall please God to giue you that blessing). And because I haue an ambition to oblige posterity, I doe here chardge this Duty vpon you, that you also lay the like Chardge vpon yours, and they on theire Children successiuely. For ingenious Manners first made vs Noble, marked out and advanc'd our Family first to Honour; with equall reason and more facility will such Manners preserue vs noble, which is most certainly effected by Education. Otherwise the Estate I leave you wilbe but as rich Trappings vpon an Asse, and render you more ridiculous. Wherefore whatsoever you leaue your heyres (and now I speake to your posterity in you), be sure to giue them a learned and liberall Education, There being in my Iudgement noe other way to secure you from falling from Honour and from the despights of Fortune. This which I haue sayd concerning your Duty to me, is alsoe appliable to the memory of your Excellent and most affectionate Mother; for a personall observance you cannot pay her. I most strictly Chardge you often to call to mind, That you and your Brother Iohn have entered into a solemne ingagement vnto me vnder your

handes to imitate the honour and Excellency of that Deare Saint, the best of Wiues, the best of Mothers and Frinds. Be religious in the performance of it, as you expect my Blessing. Remember, Francke, shee had more panges in your bringing vp then bringing forth, and shee hath beene an Excellent Nurse to your mind, regarding more the straightnesse and health of that then of your Body, though this was cared for with the greatest tendernesse imaginable. The Truth is, You owe her soe much [fol. 4] that you cannot cleare your Obligation by any other way; nothing can dischardge you, and acquitt you to her alsoe but by being such to yours, as shee has beene to you; and thus her Memory is honoured and I professe my selfe satisfied.

Affection to Brothers and Sisters

As for your carriage towards your Brothers and Sisters, I must needes say that your naturall kindnesse towards them now giues me great hopes, that you wilbe a Loving Brother hereafter, and bee soe, Francke, as you expect the blessings of God, and my Favour. Besides, your interest will require this from you; because a numerous, wealthy and ancient Family, entire and agreeing within it selfe with all its Dependants and Relatiues, cannot easily be wrong'd in such a Countrey as this. I know very well how little it can sufferre, and how much it can doe, but then it must be (as I sayd) intire. The dying Fathers Bundle of arrowes in the Fable has an excellent morall, to shew how invincible Love and Vnion are. And that you may rightly Vnderstand me, This Love of yours to them, must not only be in affectionate Wordes, Kind entertainment and the like, But in a harty, reall performance of all good offices, that may tend to the aduantage of theire Estates and Reputation. Study to doe them good and stay not for opportunities offered; snatch them rather and prevent theire Wishes. This is a noble way of obliginge, and by this meanes you make them your Frindes, a dearer name by farre then that of Brother and Sister, and which perhaps may be repayed to yours, though your selfe may not neede the returne. For I must tell you, kind offices haue beene remembred, when the Bestower has beene rotten; and a Grand child hath beene thanked, sometimes relieved for the Grand father's kindnesse; In soe much as the Courtesy to your Brother, may prove a

Charity to your Child. Thinke seriously of this, and remember it. But that I may be throughly vnderstood in this Advice, Your Love doth not end here, and I am not fully obeyed, if you only Love them in that as I have exprest. You must indeavour that they Love one another also. To this end be sure to putt out the fire of discontent, if any appeare, or but the smoake thereof presently, soe soone as it doth appeare, and be carefull to put it quite out. For smothered discontents breake out afterwards with more Violence. And herein [fol. 5] after my decease, you are to shew the authority of a Father, as well as the Love of a Brother to your Family. For which purpose you ought to inable your selfe with those abilities of Vnderstanding and Iudgement that you may be a person fitt to be sought vnto, and to be relyed vpon. These will giue you authority, and vpon a presumption of these, both sides will be more inclined to rest and settle, being confident, that your equall affection will not sufferre you to deceave them, nor your sound reason to be deceaved your selfe.

Affection to Kinred

This Advice I must carry also into my next particular, that concernes your Kinred, which for the former reasons, you must labour to preserve in amity, at least the Major and better parte of them. And it will require a very good skill, But once happily effected, it must needes bring you great reputation. Let your outward Deportment be full of respect to all your Kinred, But reserve to your selfe a secrett marke and Character of each. And take heed of suffering them to come within you, yet thrust them not off. Gentlenesse but managed with discretion wilbe sometimes necessary, yet distance and Gravity must presently stepp in to secure it from presumption, and protect it from abuse. I shold say more concerning this, but I referre you to my more secret Instructions,[1] where you shall have (God inabling me) a particular of those faithfull Frindes and servants to your Family, whose Counsells you may followe, and whose service you may trust.

Goldengrove the 14th of Aug: 1651.

[1] If these were ever written, they have not come down to us with the treatise.

Franke:

You are now setting your foote into the world. But before you place it, Looke about you and consider, That you can hardly sett it but vpon a snare and a thorne, which calls vpon you both for Care and courage; with these take my Experience for your guide, And if you follow not my Directions exactly which frees you from all danger, yet tread as neare as you can, you shall sufferre the lesse: slipp you may, fall you cannot.

I haue obseru'd that the greatest mischiefe to our Manners, doth proceede from a mistake of the nature of thinges. Learne therefore first to make a right [fol. 6] Iudgement of Thinges; esteeme not a Feather, and slight a Iewell. Knowe that nothing is beautifull, great and your owne but only Vertue and Piety. Riches are not great Revenues, Noble houses, Money or Plate, but not to want that which is necessary to support a moderate and ingenious Condition. That Glory is to heare well for doing good; Honour, a Reverence for being vertuous; Power and Command, an ability to oblige honest persons; Nobility, heroicke actions, or to be like Noble Ancestors; Generosity, a naturall inclination to Vertue; Health, such a constitution of the Body as renders the mind vigorous; Beauty, a faire Soule lodg'd in noe vnhandsome Body; Strength, not to be weary in Vertuous Actions; Pleasure, those pure, firme, lasting delights, which arise from those thinges alone, that belong to the Vnderstanding and Soule. All which Definitions of thinges are cleare contrary to Vulgar conceptions, and consequently not to be expected in theire practise.

Thy Birth, Franke, hath separated thee from the people. Let thy Actions also rayse thee and carry thee aboue them. Suspect all thinges they admire; neyther thinke theire opinions, nor Live theire Manners. They know not how to sett vpon each thinge its due price and Valew. Learne you to doe it, and accustome thyselfe betimes to entertayne right and sound opinions, that they may growe vp with thee; and by vsing thy selfe to thinke well, thou maiest soone come to doe well, and by frequency of well doing, it may at last become soe naturall, as that thou canst not but doe well, thou canst not doe otherwise. Or if at any time thou doest ill, it may appeare to be by con-

straint or force, rather then Inclination. After you are able to iudge of thinges, and haue kept off that servile yoake which opinion hath layd vpon most men by imposing false names, and governing the world by that Cheate, And that you can plainly see a Rich man to want those thinges he has, and a high content in pouerty; discerne a great man in all his Liberty chain'd like a slave to his Lustes and idlenesse, and another free in his fetters — this done, to fitt you for conversation Receave the following Directions.

Presence.

First, Because the Eye doth make the first Reporte of the Man, and shee tells her [fol. 7] Tale, soe for the most parte the person is liked or disliked, sometimes very vnjustly. To avoyd prejudice, Be sure to putt your selfe into good fashion, and without flattery I may tell you (but doe not heare it without thankfullnesse to God) you have a body euery way fitt to beare a gratefull presence, answerable to your Rancke and Quality. But take heed of Affectation or singularity, least you acte the Nobleman instead of being one. And whether you stand, sitt, or moue, let it be with such a becomming, pleasing Grauity, as that your very Behaviour may commend you and prevayle for a good opinion with the Beholder before you speake. Let your Mind be full of Courtesy; the Civility of a Hatt, a kind Looke or Word from a person of Honour, has brought that service which Money could not. And he that can gaine or preserue a Frind and the opinion of Civility for the moving of a Hatt or a gentle Looke and will not is sillily severe. Spare not to spend that which costs nothing; be liberall of them, but be not prodigall least they become cheape. I remember Sir Francis Bacon calls Behaviour the Garment of the Mind.[1] 'Tis well resembled and rightly expresses the Behaviour I wold haue in proportion to a Garment. It must be fitt, plaine, and rich, vsefull and fashionable.

[1] Cf. Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, in *Works* (London), ed. Spedding, Ellis, and Heath, III (1857), 447: "Behaviour seemeth to me as a garment of the mind, and to have the conditions of a garment. For it ought to be made in fashion; it ought not to be too curious; it ought to be shaped so as to set forth any good making of the mind, and hide any deformity; and above all, it ought not to be too strait or restrained for exercise or motion." Cf. also Bacon's "Of Ceremonies and Respects," in *Works*, VI (1858), 501: "Men's behaviour should be like their apparel, not too strait or point device, but free for exercise or motion."

Franke, I shold [not] haue aduis'd you to such a regard of your Outside (the triflingst parte of man), did I not knowe how much the greatest parte of the World are guided by it, and what notable aduantages are gain'd thereby even vpon some very wise men, The Request of an acceptable person being seldome, at least vnwillingly denied. Yet take heede of minding your Behaviour soe much, least it pilfer from your consideration, and hinder action. It is at least but a Letter of Commendation,[1] or like a Master of Ceremonies presents you to haue Audience; If some thinge be not well sayd or done, you are but a handsome Picture, the pageant or shew of a Man.

Language.[2]

The next thinge that fitts you for Conversation and is indeed chiefly to be laboured for, is a gracefull manner of speaking in a distinct, cleare, well tuned voyce without stammering, lisping, stopping or repetition.

And let these be your Rules and Cautions in discourse. First, Be sparing of speech; some doe it to be suspected for wise-[fol. 8]men, yet doe you speake sometimes that you may not be thought a foole. But let the little you vtter be very much to the purpose, and therefore frame it within before you sett it forth, still observing the point of the Discourse, and goe to that directly. If it be a knott, vntie it skillfully. Allwaies haue a respect to a gray-hair'd Experience and fam'd Vnderstanding if such a one be present.

Goldengrove the 25th of Aug: 1651.

2. Let your Language be cleare, proper, significant and intelligible, fitted to the subiect, which as neare as you can, shold be according to the humors of the persons you conuerse with. And this being various, it is requisitt that your abilities be various alsoe. As in all thinges else, soe in this of Speech be a strict obseruer of Decorum. Speake not

[1] Cf. Bacon's "Of Ceremonies and Respects," in *Works*, VI, 500: "Therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is (as queen Isabella said) *like perpetual letters commendatory*, to have good forms."

[2] A "2" in the margin may mean that "Language" is the second of the topics treated as "Directions," of which "Presence" is the first. The numbering is not continued.

scholastically to a Lady nor courtly to a playne Man, and take heede of surfetting the Eares of your Hearers, seing that the best Discourse like sweetmeates quickly cloy, if they become constant food, and like perpetuall Musicke looses its charmes. Therefore still leaue your Company in an appetite to heare more, bayting them sometimes with short offers soe cunningly as that they may invite and presse you to speake on. Did I feare in you a pouerty of speech, or shold you find at any time a slender stocke, I shold intreate you to good husbandry. Aboue all thinges avoyd Common-places, they are fullsome and ridiculous.

3. If your Genius leades you, and I hope it does, to affect a pleasantnesse of witt, This will charme and winne vpon all companies. And let me tell you that a fitt, well-chosen Tale, well told, has effected that, which a more serious and wise debate could neuer accomplish. The Spanish are singular in this kind, which renders them the best company in the world. And you haue heard me often say, that it was the best Musicke I euer heard in Spaine. Their Gravity in the Narration, setts off a storie strangely well. Imitate it if it be possible. And if you can, gett the arte of apparelling the same Tale in a various Dresse, that if you shold chance to tell the same agayne eyther it will not be knowne in its disguise or it agayne please for its variety. Neyther were it amisse if you sometime seeme [fol. 9] to forgett to shew your dexterity that way. But by noe meanes affect scurrility, and whett not your witt on a dull aduersary. 'Tis noe way generous to rayse mirth or triumph ouer a Foole, whom to ouercome can be noe Victory, when the contention it selfe was dishonourable. If you meete with a proud, vayne-glorious, selfe-conceited man, it may become you well to putt such a one out of Countenance, soe it be done handsomely and like a person of Honor; for all men are well pleased to see a vaine man well abused.

4. Last of all be not dogmaticall and peremptory in your opinion (it will be long before that become you), but having spoken (as you thinke) reason, if it be not allowed of, speake it againe, and leaue it calmely to censure. Be very carefull of falling into passion. For why shold you be angry that another is not able or willing to vnderstand you? Let me tell you it's a signe of a very feeble spiritt not to be able

to endure a Contradiction. And therefore if you haue a mind to gaine reputation vpon any by dispute, trye if he may be moued. If he may be, then anger him, but without offence; you cannot wish for a greater advantage then his passion will giue you; For anger in a dispute is like an vnquiett Horse in a dusty way: it rayses soe much dust in the eyes of the Vnderstanding that it blindes it and putts it out. It will lay the inraged Disputant soe open, that you may hitt him where you please and he cannot put by one fallacy. Besides, many haue ouercome by suffering theire Enemy to beate himselfe out of breath. But if you wold render your selfe pleasing to any person you haue a mind to oblige, propose then such a subiect as you knowe he is very well skill'd in, most men being desirous and pleas'd to shewe theire owne Excellency, and you will not loose by it neyther. For the experienc'd souldier shall tell you more of the Art Military and a well practis'd Lawyer of a iudg'd Case in Lawe in halfe an houre, then all the Bookes of both professions can teach you in a month, if perhaps at all. Againe, if you haue a desire to make a shewe of your selfe to discourse of that you are best knowne in, Take heed of rushing or breaking in vpon it. It will appeare pedanticall, and discouer an Affectation which you must heedfully shunne. The slight of this must be by degrees, approches [fol. 10] and goings about to steale vpon the Argument, And drawe some of the company insensibly to beginne it. To shutt vp this particular, take notice that some men are good at a short turne, or quick Reply, who languish and are tir'd in a large Discourse. Others are nothing quicke at hand, but yet strength of Reason brings them vp at last. Could you ioyne both these together and make them one Abilitie, you wold soone appeare a great Master in Language. I could wish you had the skill to mainteyne Paradoxes, not to that purpose, as some Crosse-humerous Witts imploy them, meerely for Contradiction and Ostentation; But for the sharpening and stretching of your Witt: which if discreetely and modestly handled, they will afford a tickling, sharpe delight, sett you off handsomely, and render you to quicke apprehensions very acceptable. If to these you adde modesty of Countenance and speech, in one of your Birth and partes they will render your conuersation sweete and charming. Therefore faile not vpon occasions to be Masters of a great Modesty, but withall knowe

when to be High, and when you shewe it, let it be with gentle temper, in a sweete and well commanded spiritt.

Goldengrove
Sep: the first
1651

Soe that now, Francke, you being thus fitted with comely presence, and furnish'd with good Language, sufficiency and dexterity of Discourse, I will now ouersee your Employment which at present is your study.

Employment or Study.

I shalbe lesse carefull herein vpon a presumption that your Tutor's Care and sufficiency in that kind hath prevented me. Howeuer, I shall tell you what I haue heard very learned men speake concerning Bookes, and the true vse of them.

1. First, you are to come to your Study as to the Table with a sharpe appetite, whereby that which you reade may the better disgest. He that has noe stomach to his Booke will hardly thriue vpon it.

2. And because the Rules of study doe soe exactly agree with those of Diett, when you are from your Tutor take care that what you read be wholesome and but sufficient. Not how much, but how good is the best Diett. Sometimes for variety and to refresh and please the palate of your Vnderstanding [fol. 11] you may reade somethinge that is choyce and delicate, But make noe meale thereon. You may be also allowed the Musique of Poetry, soe it be cleane, chast and not effeminate.

3. After you haue read a little, make a stand vpon it, and take not more in, nor that downe, till it be well chewed and examin'd. Goe not to another thinge, till the first be Vnderstood in some measure. If any thinge sticke with you, noate downe your doubtes in a Booke for that purpose, and rest not till you be satisfied; then write that downe too.

4. In your Reading vse often to inuent and apply that which you obserue appliable to some purpose. And if this Change be a Robbery, God helpe late Writers. Sure I am, nothing to my Reason appeares more effectuall to rayse your Invention and inrich your Vnderstanding.

5. After Reading, Remember, as from the Table, soe you rise from your Booke with an appetite: And being vp, disturbe not the Concoction, which is infinitly improu'd by a Rumination or Chewing of the Cudd. To this end Recollection with your selfe will doe well, But a Repetition with another farre better. For thereby you will gett a habitt of readily Expressing your selfe, which is a singular aduantage to Learning. And by the very discoursing of what you learn't, you agayne teach your selfe. Besides, something newe and of your owne must of necessity streame in.

6. For the choyce of your Bookes be advis'd by your Tutor, But by my Consent you shold not haue aboue one or two at the most in every Science, but those very choyce ones. I will commend one Booke to you. Wee beginne with it when we are Boyes, yet it will become the oldest and gravest Man's hand. It is Tullies' Offices, A most wise and vsefull Booke, where you shall haue Excellent Philosophy Excellently drest. And those that are skillfull in the Language say, That the whole Latin Tongue is there with all its purity and Propriety.

7. For the more orderly managing of your study I wold haue you divide the day into seuerall imployments. Great and wise persons haue giuen you the Example. If you will haue me dispose your time for you, I shall proportion it into three Octaues, Eight houres of which for sleepe, compre-[fol. 12]hending Dressing and Vndressing; Eight houres for Devotion, Food and Recreation, In which I comprehend Visitts and your attendance on me. The other Octaue, giue it constantly to your studies, vnlesse businesse or like accident interrupt, which if it shall, you must eyther recompence it by the succeeding dayes diligence or borrowe from your Recreation. But by noe meanes trench not vpon your houres of Devotion, which I wold haue you proportion into little and frequent offices, to sweeten the spiritts and prevent wearisomnesse. Possible even these houres also of Devotion may sometimes receaue interruption by Travaile or imployment of necessity. Then your Offices must be the lesse. You may be likewise depriu'd of the conveniency of place. If soe, yet steale a Retirement. Nothing must hinder you from withdrawing your selfe. And a Good Man makes any place an Oratory. But be sure noe merry meeting, pastime or humouring of others make a breach vpon your daily Exercise of Piety; nothing but euident necessity can dispence.

8. Be not asham'd to aske if you doubt, but be asham'd to be reproued for the same fault twice.

9. Be constant in your course of study, And although you proceede slowly, yet goe on in your Path. Assiduity will make amends at last. He that can but creepe, if he keepe his way, will sooner come to his Iourney's end then he that rides poste out of it.

10. Endeavour at the highest perfection. Not only in your studies, but in whatsoeuer you attempt, striue to excell in every thinge, and you performe many thinges worthy of prayse, nothing meanely. He that aimes farther then he can shoote, and drawes with his vtmost strength, will hardly shoote shorte, at least deserues not to be blam'd for short shooting.

11. Avoyd Night Studies, if you will preserue your Witt and Health.

12. Whether thou dost reade or heare any thinge (indeed, whatsoeuer thou dost) intend what thou are about, and let not thy Mind wander, but compell it to be fixt and present. If any other thought comes crosse thee in thy study, keepe [fol. 13] it off and referre it to some other time. This Wandering of your spiritt you know I have often reproued. Therefore whatsoeuer you doe, doe it and nothing else.

13. Sufferre not thy Memory to rest. Shee loues exercise and growes with it: Every day commend some thing Notable to her custody; the more shee receaues the better shee keepes. And when you haue trusted any thinge to her Care, let it rest with her a while, then call for it agayne, especially if it be a fault corrected; you must not erre twice. And by this frequent calling her to account, shee wilbe allwayes ready to giue you satisfaction, and the sooner, if what she was intrusted with was layd vp orderly, and putt as it were in the seuerall Boxes of a Cabbinett.

14. If thou woldst seeme Learned, the best way is to indeavour to be Learned. For if thou dost not striue to be that which thou desirest to be, thou desirest to noe purpose: which giues me occasion to recommend this following Advise to your especiall Regard.

15. It is a great Vanity to hope to be [a] Scholler and yet to be vnwilling to take paynes. For what excellent thinge is there that is easily compassed? Its very difficulty doth imply, and as it were in-

vites vs to something Rare and Worthy. Consider it is a Rose that Thornes incompasse, And the forbidden Obiect sharpens the desire in all other thinges. Thus a difficult Mistresse makes a Louer more passionate and that same Man hates an offered and a Prostitute Love. I dare say, if Learning were easy and cheape, thou woldst as much slight her. And indeed who wold haue any thinge common with a Carter and a Cobler! Something there is doubtlesse in it, that none but Noble and Vnwearied spiritts can attayne her. And these are raysed higher, and heightened by its difficulty, and wold not gaine her otherwise. Something there is in it, that noe Money or Iewels can buy her. Noe, Francke, nothing can purchase Learning but thy owne sweate; obtayne her if thou canst any other way. Not all my Estate can buy thee the Faculty of making but one quicke Epigramme, the triflingst parte of her. Wherefore I intreate thee, Francke, to rayse thy spiritt, and to stretch thy [fol. 14] Resolution. And soe often as thou goest to thy Booke, place before thy Eyes what Crownes, Scepters, Miters and other Ensignes of Honour, Learning hath conferred on those that haue courted her with Labour and diligence.

Besides, the rare pleasure of satisfaction which of it selfe is an honourable Reward. And let me tell thee, Francke, a Learned, holy Man (and such a one I wold faine haue thee to be) lookes like an Angell in flesh, a mortall Cherubin.

16. And because Letters are great discouerers of the man, therefore when you write, Let your Stile be facile, cleane, round, even and playne, vnless the subiect matter requires a more manly, vigorous Expression. I cannot allow you a curiosity, except it be like a Ladies Dresse, negligently Neate.[1] Goe not to councell for euery Word, yet neglect not to choose; Be more carefull to thinke before you write, then before you speake; because Letters passe not away as Wordes doe; they remayne vpon Record, are still vnder the Examination of the Eye, and tortur'd sometimes they are to confesse that of which they were neuer guilty. That's rare indeed that can endure Reading.

[1] Cf. Jonson's "Discoveries" in *Works*, II (1640), 124: "But both in method to use (as Ladies doe in their attyre) a diligent kind of negligence, and their sportive freedome . . ." This is part of a long passage borrowed from John Hoskins, but, since the passage had not appeared in print elsewhere before the date of the "Advice," Carbery must have noted it in Jonson. See John Hoskins, *Directions for Speech and Style*, ed. Hoyt H. Hudson (Princeton, 1935), p. 7 and n., and pp. xxvii ff.

Vnderstand the person well to whom you write. If he be your Inferiour or Equall, you may giue your Pen the more Liberty, and play with it sometimes. But if to your Superiour, then Regard is to be had to your Interest with him, his Leasure and Capacity.[1] All which will be soe many Caveats and instructions to the humility, acutenesse and breuity of your stile. You shall doe well, if like a skillfull paynter, you drawe your sence and the proportions of your Businesse in a plaine draught first, and then giue it Colour, heightening and Beauty afterwards. And if it be duly considered, 'Tis noe such commendation to be praysed for penning a Letter without making a Blott, not in my iudgement. Therefore you haue pondered and penned; then examine and correct. A negligent manner of Writing, me thinkes, is a kind of an affront and a Challenge, not a Letter, to a person of Honour. Avoyd all Roughnesse, [fol. 15] swelling, Pouerty and Loosenesse in your Stile; let it be rather riotous then niggardly; the flowing Pen may be help't but the drie neuer. Especially shunne Obscurity, because it must goe a begging for an Interpreter. And why shold you write to intreate him to vnderstand you if he can? Be this your generall Rule both in your Writing and Speaking. Labour for sence rather then Wordes. And for your Booke, take this alsoe: Study Men and Thinges.

17. Perhaps you will expect after all these Instructions, I shold commend vnto you some Coppy or Example to imitate. As for the Greeke and Latine Tongues, I leaue it to your Tutor's Choyce. In the English I knowe noe stile I shold sooner preferre to your imitation then that of Sir Francis Bacon, that excellent vnhappy Man. And to giue directions for all imitation in generall as well as of his stile in particular, Be carefull soe to imitate as by drawing forth the very spiritts of the Writer, you may, if possible, become himselfe. Imitate but doe not mocke him: for the face of a Bull or Horse is more comely, then of an Ape or Monkey, though the Ape most resembles Man, the most beautifull of all Creatures. And in that regard your owne genuine, naturall and proper stile, may shew more comely then an Imitation of Sir Francis Bacon, if he be not exactly imitated. I wold haue the Imitator be as the Sonne of a Father, not the Ape of a man, that is,

[1] Cf. Jonson's "Discoveries," in *Works*, II, 123: "But if to your Superior, you are bound to measure him in three farther points: First, your interest in him: Secondly, his capacity in your Letters: Thirdly, his leasure to peruse them." See preceding note.

to putt on the likenesse of a Child, not of an Ape. For the Ape only imitates the deformities and the ridiculous actions of Man; the sonne represents all the graces of the Face, Gesture and very Figure of his Father; and in this representation He hath something of himselfe too. I shall add but one Caution more, and that's this. As he can neuer runne well who shall resolue to sett his Foote in the very footsteps of one that went before; soe neyther shall any Man write well, who precisely and superstitiously ties himselfe to another's Wordes. And with this Liberty I wish your Stile happy.

Goldengrove
9th Sep: 1651.

[Fol. 16] 18. And such will all your studies be if you certainly put in practise this my last Admonition. It is, That you be carefull euery night before you goe to Bedd or performe your Deuotions, to withdrawe your selfe into your Closett or some priuate parte of your Chamber, And there call Memory your steward to account what shee hath heard or read that day worthy of Obseruation: what shee hath layd vp, what shee hath spent, how your stocke of knowledge improues, where and how it decayes. A notable aduantage will this bring to your studies at present and hereafter (if that way imployed) to your Estate. But if this course be strictly and faithfully obseru'd each night betweene God and your soule, there will the true advantage appeare. Faile not therefore, Franke, what imployment soeuer you haue, euery night as in the presence of God, and his holy Angells, to passe an Inquisition on your soule: what ill it hath done, what good it hath left vndone, what slippes, what falles it hath had that day, what temptations hath prevayld vpon it, and by what meanes, or after what manner. Ransacke euery corner of thy darke Hearte and let not the least Peccadillo or kindnesse to a sinne lurke there. But bring it forth, bewayle it, protest against it, detest it and scourge it by a seuere sorrowe. Thus each dayes breach betweene God and thy Soule being made vp with more quiett and sweete Hope, thou mayest dispose thy selfe to rest. Certainly at last this Inquisition (if steadily pursued) will vanquish all Customary sinnes, whateuer they be. And I speake it vpon this reason, Because I presume thou wilt not haue the

Face to appeare before God euery night confessing the same offence; And thou wilt forebeare it, least thou mayest seeme to mocke God, or despise him, which is dreadfull but to imagine. This finished, For a delightfull close to the whole Businesse of the Day, Cause your servant to reade something that is excellently writt or done to lay you to sleepe with it, that if it may be, euen your Dreames may be profitable and Learned. This you will find by your owne experience true, That Thinges will appeare more naked to the Eye of the Soule, when the Eye of the Body is shutt, which together with the quiett [fol. 17] of the Night, that Time is rendred a most fitt season for Contemplation and Contriuance. As a great aduantage not only to your Booke, but Health and Businesse also, I cannot but aduise and injoyne you to accustome your selfe to Rise Early. For, take it from me, Noe Louer of his Bedd did euer yet performe great and noble thinges. Now, though I allowed you eight houres for your Bedd with the preparation to it and from it, yet this was rather to poynt out the vtmost Limitt beyond which you shold not goe, rather then to oblige to obserue such a proportion exactly. Borrow therefore of these Golden Morning Houres and bestowe them on your Booke. A Noble Person of all others has neede of Learning, and therefore shold contribute most time to it. For, besides that it guildes his Honour and setts off his Birth, it becomes his imployment, which a Nobleman of all others must not want, if he will secure his soule, Honour and Estate, all which are in most certayne danger by Idlenesse, the Rocke of Nobility, considering the plenty of his Table and society with all sortes of Temptation. If therefore he be a hard student, he is not at leasure to be vitious. The Diuell knowes it is to noe purpose to tempt a busy man. Be allwayes therefore imployed, and because some are triflingly actiue, that you may not with them be idly busy, your Booke will instruct you How.

O Francke, did you but heare the complaintes of excellent personages for missing of that opportunity which you are now master of, or could you but suppose your selfe old, Ignorant, how tender wold you be of the losse of one minute! What would you not giue to returne to these yeares you now enjoy! Let this consideration sincke deepe and settle in you. Be more curious of the expence of your Time, then of your Gold, Time being a Iewell whose worth is inualuable, and

whose losse is irreparable. Therefore secure the present Time, that you may not hereafter loose more by a vaine bewayling of the Past.

Now, Because the best of Learning is to study your selfe, And I haue reason to beleeue, that I haue some skill in you, hauing so curiously obseru'd your Nature and Inclination, I shall make [fol. 18] some vsefull Discoueries in order to this Knowledge, by which you may both see your defects and amend them.

Your Selfe.

The most profitable and necessary knowledge in the world is to knowe and study thy selfe. Wherefore withall the plainesse, sincerity and obseruation you can make in your best temper of Mind and body, Lay your selfe open to your selfe, take an impartiall survey of all your abilities and weakenesses; And spare not to expose them to your eyes by Writing; which I conceaue is the best done by framing your owne Character, and soe to drawe the Picture of your mind, which I recommend to your yearly practise during your Life. This, Franke, if you flatter not yourselfe, wilbe your best Looking-Glasse, and must needes haue a singular influence vpon your Religion, and serue your soule rarely well to very high purposes: For by this meanes your growth or decay in Vertue wilbe discouered, and consequently waies for the increase of that growth, or for repayring those decayes and breaches in the Soule will more readily be found out, more easily cured. But this I leaue to your Confessor.

When you haue found out both your forces and infirmities, then Looke with one Eye vpon them; and with the other on the Times you liue in; whereby comparing your selfe with the generall state of affaires, you shall soone discerne, whether there may be a correspondency or complyance betweene you and them, that you may therevpon eyther drawe your selfe within your priuate Walles to enjoy the happinesse of a holy, quiett and innocent Repose, in case the Times are rough and dangerous to sayle in; or else, if calme and sutable, to ingage your selfe in some publicke Employment for the seruice of your Countrey, and aduancement of your Family. Though, if I may guesse at the future constitution of your mind, by what I obserue at present,

were the Times neuer soe calme and minting [1] you shold not easily be inticed to imbarque your selfe into the World, or ingage in busy and great imployments. Your best course, Francke, in my iudgement were to say your prayers at home, manage your little affayres innocently and discreetly, and enjoy with thankfullness what God by me has bestowed vpon you. But it may soe happen that your [fol. 19] Inclinations may be actiue, and your partes correspondent, and that good Fortune may find you out in your privacy, and court you to imployment. If shee does, refuse her not, but imbrace her with these Cautions.

First, be sure to ballast your selfe well by calling in to your ayde all the aduantages of Learning, Arte and Experience; Then consider how to fitt your Sayles to the Bulke of your Vessell, least you proue a Slugge or ouer-sett. And because Common-Wealths haue theire shelues and Rockes, therefore gett the Skill of Coasting and shifting your Sayles, I meane to arriue at your Ends by Compassings and an honest complyance. For if Honesty be your starre you sayle by, doubt not of a good Voyage, at least you may be sure of a good Harbour. There is noe Man but hath his Weakenesse; Be you true to your selfe and find it out. Hauing found it, Labour to remove it; if it cannot be remoued, then haue recourse to Arte, which will eyther lessen it or couer it. To this purpose obserue the Vertue or ability that is nearest to your defect, and as neare as you can, purchase that Vertue. For instance, if you haue not that boldnesse and readinesse of spiritt, that Courage and Confidence which others perhaps haue (though I hope you can be wanting in neyther), Art wold aduise you to affect Mildnesse, and to gett the Reputation of a Gentile spiritt; which for the most parte is a signe of the best and truest courage. This will take off the censure and excuse the Defect. And thus Grauity of manners (I meane a naturall, pleasing vnaffected Grauity) may disguise your slown[e]sse of Vnderstanding. All the skill is, that these Qualities you pretend to may not appeare acted, but free and proper. If you wold haue others beleeve you haue not those Defects you haue, you shall doe it best by apparelling your abilities in the fashion of your Defects,

[1] I have been unable to find any acceptable meaning for this word. It is slightly indented from the margin and is followed by a noticeable space. It may have been intended for "inviting."

by dissembling your Excellencies, contriuing withall that those supposed Defects may be as publickly question'd and called to triall as you can devise; Whereupon this will easily follow, That your clearing your selfe soe fairely in your supposed, Men will not beleeue you guilty of your [real] Infirmities, and for the future wilbe tender of entertayning any Reporte to your prejudice.

By this you may perceaue how much a [fol. 20] little Arte can cozen, and the necessity of it sometimes, not only in couering an imperfection in Behauiour or Action, but to great aduantage in Discourse, when eyther you are ignorant of your subiect in Debate, and soe cannot speake at all to it (Silence at such a time will best become you), or vnluckily haue taken the wrong end of your Argument. Then you may helpe your selfe with the slight of sliding from the dispute into something like it, wherein you are conuersant. And you cannot want opportunity when your Aduersary in discourse is of a free tongue. Take notice here, Franke, that I instruct you to the vse of Arte noe farther then shalbe needfull to your infirmity, in case it be invincible. By all meanes study Reality, which is obtayn'd oftentimes with the same care and paynes, as Shew and Colour is. Remember the good old Apothegme, Be what thou woldst seeme to be. There needes much Arte to colour that Arte. Let not your Paint be discouered, least men suspect whateuer is naturally handsome and beautifull, to be adulterate. The naturall feature with some little setting out, is the most lasting Beauty. To helpe you in framing your owne Character, I will hint you of some Faultes I haue discouered in your Nature and Disposition.

1. You are apt to speake without Consideration. This cannot be pardoned you now in your Childhood; how vnpardonable and ridiculous will it be hereafter when you are man! I know it proceedes from quicknesse of spiritt which I mislike not. But you must master and lay that spiritt; it is a dangerous, vnruly one. Your deliberate Speaker has a great aduantage of the nimble Tongue, by not only forecasting his sence, but choosing also his Wordes euen whilst he speakes. And if you obserue it, such men seldome recall what they vtter. A faire Commendation.

2. You are too forward to censure others. That obseruing Quality of yours I approue well of, if it be not exercised vpon Trifles and Im-

pertinencies, nor published to the disreputation of the person. A Man's honour is a tender, pure thinge, apt to be sullied with the least breath of Common Ayre, much more if a Gentleman of Repute throw dirte vpon it. Therefore be as vnwilling to disparage as to kill. And let me tell [fol. 21] you, a free Tongue has neede of a strong hand and a stout hearte. Baffling or danger are allwaies its Companions. If you will be censuring, doe it still with a reflection vpon your selfe; this will instruct you to Candor and ingenuity. And when you see how vnhandsomly either the rudenesse, indiscretion, vice or whatsoeuer you reprehend doth shew in him (which must needes appeare vgly and monstrous in you, a person of Honour), in reason you cannot practise what your Fancy dislikes, and your Iudgement condemnes. To coole your heate in censuring, this be sure of. It is not your Birth or partes that can priuiledge you from being censured by others. They will passe theire iudgement vpon you as you on them with equall freedome, but with noe mercy. If you once haue the reputation of a Criticke in Manners, such vsually are pardoned in nothing; they haue not the allowance of an infirmity. This Advice forbids you not to exercise your obseruation eyther in Actions or Persons. It only instructes you how safely, how profitably.

3. You are very much subject to a wandring Carelesnesse of spiritt, which renders your studies vnprofitable, your Replies extrauagant, your Deuotions vnacceptable and your Duty to me suspected, by forgetting my Reproofes and not performing my Commandes. Soe that this of all other your Infirmities is to be more especially regarded and speedily amended, because it goes along with you in euery particular. Remember how often I haue chardg'd you to Intend what you are about, and to haue a present Mind in all thinges. For it is not possible you shold performe any thinge commendably when your Mind is taken vp with two Objects. And hence it is that you are soe often reproued with soe little amendment. Forgett if you can your deare and excellent Mother's last wordes: be not reproued twice for the same fault.

4. You are alsoe very violent in your desires, and what you will, you will with too much eagernesse and passion. This at present is the lesse dangerous, by reason that the Objects of your desires are trifling and for the most parte innocent, at least by my watchfulnesse ouer

you, they are rendred soe. But of all thinges [fol. 22] in the world, Franke, take heede of your Appetite as you growe vp vnto Man; for now is the time to breake the Beast, or neuer. And with much easinesse you may bend your desires now, whilst they are pliant and tender. I wold haue you alsoe to deny your Will sometimes thinges fitting, and accustome it to receaue Contradiction to haue it the more at Command. But if you will secure my feares concerning this, and make thy wild Beast seruiceable, you cannot doe it more effectually then by forcing this eagernesse of your Will to serue you in the actions of Religion, Vertue and honour. In these your forwardnesse and heate will become you, and assist you to smooth the rough pathes of Vertue, and ouercome all difficulties; whereby that which is now your danger and my feare, will become your safety and my Confidence.

It is of soe great Concernment to you that I must with much earnestnesse aduise you to curbe your Desires at theire first proffer to fly out. I like not the Gallantry of that Philosophy which puts off its Instructions, till the Mind is come to the precipice. Tis braue, I confesse, to giue the Will her short stoppe in the Careere. But till you are confident of your skill, like a good Horseman haue drest your Passions and man'd them, giue them not the Raynes, least your affections find theire strength and you your Ruine. If you can but once come to that skill and command ouer your affections, as to Master one by another, as Beastes are hunted and caught with Beastes, then you haue made a great progresse in Prudence, and you may be trusted with your selfe. Take heed of cheating your selfe. This Counsell will extend to many particulars: vnlesse thou has first flattered thy selfe, thou canst not be flattered by another.

Quiett.

Your Quiett wilbe best purchas'd and preseru'd by obeying these Advices which lead to it.

1. If euer by the Commitment of any sinne God fall out with you, sleepe not till your Repentance has reconciled him [fol. 23] to you, or putt you into the possibility of a Pardon. 2. Your Bosome being quiett when you are Man, vse your best Artes that your Bedd be soe too. As it is your very next happinesse, soe next to the disquiett of Conscience, an vnpleasing Wife is the sharpest Fortune. 3. Having

secur'd the peace of your Bedd, Looke to your Conuersations by making frindships with well temper'd, ingenious, calme spiritted men. 4. Giue noe entertaynment to little Envies or humorous spleenes; wrap your selfe vp in your integrity; and if stormes approch meete them by diuersion, by all the wayes of Prudence and honesty; and if the Dogge will not leaue barking, giue him his morsell. One night's sound sleepe is worth many a pound. Be not too busy an Inquirer after that thou woldst be loath to find. Nurse your quiett and purchase it at any honest rate.

Goldengrove Sep. the 17th.

Reputation.

Be iealous of your Virgin Reputation; preserue it if you can euen from suspect; at least expose it not to be toss'd and sullied by base handes. Alwayes play a foregame of Honour. God preserue you from following the funerall of your Honour; He is a miserable person in deede that survives a lost name. Therefore when you haue gain'd the Reputation of truly Noble, keepe vp the title to the height. It is noe fault not to be honourable, but it is an vnpardonable basenesse to haue beene. Feare not contempt vnless thou first contemne thyselfe, that is by rendring thy selfe contemptible by an ignoble, sordid Action: then expect it, for then thou hast deseru'd it.

I had rather haue thee a Cato to be ask'd why thou art not honoured with a statue, then a Clodius to be demanded, by what meritt thou camst to be honoured by one.[1] Labour earnestly and really for the Reputation of Constancy and secrecy, and doe all you can to be knowne for a firme Frind and a Religious obseruer of your promise. I must tell you, Francke, it hath beene a great parte of my Religion, and I thanke God I haue had the reward of it in this Life.

Trust and a Faire Name.

Affect not popularity; if it seeke you, your Worth will soone point you out. [Fol. 24] And then doe you make such an aduantage of it as

[1] Cf. Bacon's "Apothegms," No. 234, in *Works*, VII (1859), 158: "Cato the elder, what time many of the Romans had statua's erected in their honour, was asked by one in a kind of wonder; *Why he had none*? and answered; *He had much rather men should ask and wonder why he had no statua, than why he had a statua.*"

a Wiseman shold, still remembring you sayle vpon an vnsteady Element, Noe Sea being more false and dangerous, then the People.

If you wold haue your selfe regarded, stand not too neare an Excellency, least you be lost as a Candle in the Sunne.

This which I am about to advise, you must obserue with the greatest regard you can possibly, by which preface you may perceaue of what consequence I esteeme it.

At your first stepp into the World, be sure you sett your selfe fairely forth, and fill all mens expectations with faire Hopes. If you be forc'd to contend, be extreame carefull that you be not foyld in your first incounter. Neuer striue vnjustly, But vpon an honest ground; sett your Estate belowe your Innocency and Reputation, And be sure in soe doing your Posterity will thanke you for their Pouerty, if you loose theire Estate in an honourable and righteous Quarrell.

Nothing is soe vncomely as to see a Man to Fawne. But a Nobleman, when he turnes Flatterer, twice degrades himselfe, both from his Humanity and Honour.

Other Advices as they may relate eyther to your selfe or others promiscuously.

1. Endeavour after a good Reputation. He that cares not to be well spoken of, may shrewdly be suspected to have scarce done any thinge to deserue it. If good Opinion follow not thy honest Endeavour, be content with the conscience of the Acte, and that thou hast approued thy selfe to God. Noe matter who then dislikes.

2. Blush not to speake or doe any thinge that is honest: And neuer deny that which becomes thee to affirme. Only base Actions are shamefull, And there is noe such Cowardice in the world, as not to dare to speake Truth.

3. Be not troubled for any ill Accident which may befall thee; Because it was but that which thou daily prayedst for, when thou dost desire God's Will might be done. God has heard this Prayer; be thankfull rather.

4. Before a Calamity falls on thee, prouide your selfe with arguments and fortify against it. Learne to be your owne Comforter, That you may not neede [fol. 25] to borrow another man's Handkerchiefe to wipe your Eyes.

5. Though I wish you noe Enemies, yet I may tell you what good may be gott from them. They will not flatter you, and they will exercise your Vertues. Besides, your Father hath beene beholding to them. For his Enemies by awaking him with their noyce and putting him vpon his guard by theire malice, They forc'd him to saue himselfe who else might haue suffered through security.

6. Enjoy the honey of your Riches, but haue a care of your Winges. Let not your Soule, by which you mount aboue the World, be intangled with its slymie, intangling Sweetes. But like the Wise Bee liue vpon your honey, perish not by it.

7. Attempt nothing, not soe much as a Designe, without a secret calling vpon God first to direct Thee and prosper it. Then, secondly, haue a fixed Eye vpon the End. And hauing aduis'd well on the Thinge, choose honest meanes and fitt instruments. Put it forward, lastly, with diligence, and having done what possibly thou couldst, be not carefull for the event.

8. If thou canst not endure to be reproued, doe not those thinges that deserue to be reproued. For if thou hast a Frind in the World, he will be sure to reproue thee. He, Franke, is truly miserable, who when he needes a Reprouer, has none.

9. When thou leauest off to be ashamed of doing ill, I shall beginne to despayre that thou wilt euer doe well.

10. You are not to contemne any man, whom you may neede: And noe man is soe great, but that he may neede the meanest. Neyther are you to slight any man that can doe hurte, because the weakest, if he haue spleene, has strength enough to doe mischiefe. Let him but contemne his owne Life, and he may command thine.

11. In all Businesse first weigh the Action thou art about to vndertake to a scruple, with all nicity and curiosity of each circumstance; then if thou findest it iust and fitt, what with great advice and deliberation thou dost vndertake, pursue it. Remember what Gonsaluo sayd to his souldiers, shewing them Naples. He protested he had rather die one foote forward, then to haue his life secur'd for an age by one foote of Retreate.[1]

[1] Cf. Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, in *Works*, III, 423: ". . . as Consalvo said to his soldiers, shewing them Naples, and protesting he had rather die one foot forwards than to have his life secured for long by one foot of retreat; . . ."

[Fol. 26] 12. If it be in your power, let not your Aduersaries plausible story, or secrett applications prepossess the Iudge. Be in with him, if you cannot be before him, for it will be hard to vnrauell what prejudice hath disordered.

Be a diligent Reader of history, that's the Noblemans best schoole. Make it the imployment of your Pen, for it is a delightfull one, by drawing downe, comparing and complying the Past Ages, Persons and Actions with the Present.

I could wish you a good sufficiency in the Knowledge of the Lawes and Customes of the Land: But at least gett you such a proportion as may inable you to be your owne Sollicitor. For take this on my Experience, both your Councell and your servants who attend your cause shall then with more regard and diligence follow it, especially if to your skill you ioyne earnestnesse, and an vnwearied industry. These with one good successe will render you formidable to Malice, and will make a Litigious man as tender of ingaging you in a suite of Lawe, as most men shunne to challenge a skillfull, metel'd and fortunate Duellist. Take this for a truth: Ignorance and Lazinesse inuite Injuries and Cheates. Only the wise, diligent, seuere man is secure.

Neyther doe or write any thinge of importance or to a person of quality, vnless Necessity force you (but call not that necessity vpon you by delay or negligence). But first like the skillfull Painter, drawe out within your selfe and shape the maine Designe, Then sett downe the heades thereof in writing, and lastly dresse it in fitt, becomming Language briefly and clearly. Let it at least come twice vpon your Pillowe; or if it be of very great concernment indeed, lay it aside for some longer time, and at seuerall times after review it; you will come to the examination of it then as another man. If after all this you be deceaued, you cannot if you haue any iudgement erre grosly. But much of this care and curiosity may be saued if you haue an Vnderstanding, free, faithfull Frind.

Industry and Diligence haue wrought wonders in very meane partes. Noe man can haue a despised Witt, that is but diligent.

Frind.

Sorte your Frinds according to theire seuerall abilities, and neuer want one of generall knowledge and insight in the World. [Fol. 27]

Choose not a froward Man for a Frind, least he ingage you to defend his Quarrells and buy his Peace.

Servant.

Let your servant be temperate, obedient, diligent and true, noe great matter for his Iudgement or Vnderstanding. The truest discouery of any man is to be gathered from his seruant, most men's Formality being layd by with his Cloake, and few stand vpon theire guard in theire Chamber; it were a great affliction, if they shold.

As neare as you can, remoue from your selfe the Envy of an hard answere; sometimes it is necessary for your seuerity to appeare and that you owne the Reproofe, whereby your seruant may know whom he is to offend. But displeasing Answers, vexing delays and vnwellcome denialls, especially if they be of smale concernment, and to little people (which still are the most clamorous), these shold proceed from others, rather then from your selfe, partly to take off the Envy, and partly, because it may not become your person to take notice of such meane Thinges.

Exercise.

Let not your Exercises be immoderate or violent, but fitted to your occasions, and strength of your Body; neyther let them be childish or base, but agreeable to your age and quality of your Person. Euen your Recreations and sportes must discouer you a Gentleman.

Goldengroue the
22th Sep: 1651.

From your affectionat
Father Carbery.

Men.

Franke:

I haue formerly giuen you a Caution to make a right Iudgement of Thinges. I now enlarge to Men. When your Needes or occasions (what euer they be) inforce you to seeke out for a fitt Person, Trust not the common Vogue; you will find Fame the greatest Liar of all others. And most men are ouer-rated. [Fol. 28] He may be Gold, and yet neede his Allowance. Neyther shold fiue or sixe Instances of Ability or Integrity drawe forth your concluding Iudgement. Some men may be praysed too soone after a yeares Testimony. In all your

affayres Remember that slownesse of Beliefe and a little distrust are great supportes of Wisedome and security.

In sett Discourses men may disguise theire purpose; But the Cunningest of them all will sometimes stepp out of his Dissimulation, eyther vpon a heate be it of Wine or Anger, or a Brauery; sometimes vpon a Kindnesse or trouble of Mind. Therefore in all Conferences of importance, watch each suddayne passage and surprize; for then the Gate of discouery opens. And Labour withall the industry you can for the ability of obseruing at the same time you acte. I am too great a Louer of noble simplicity to instruct you to a Spanish Counter-dissimulation; though I haue seene it practis'd where I learnd the Prouerbe in one of the wisest state-schooles in Europe: Di mentira, y iacaras verdad: Tell a lie and find a Truth.[1] Learne to distinguish the Wise man from the Witty, for there is a vast difference, And yet there is nothing that the World is soe much cheated [with], as with this. He that has with his quicknesse of spiritt and apprehension a faithfull Memory, voluble tongue and by frequent Exercise a handsome manner of expressing himselfe, if he haue alsoe but the least smattering in Philosophy or the lucke to be of Frindshipp with learned men, and haue a good study of Bookes; Lastly, to sett off all these has the confidence to talke loud and boldly — This man shalbe cried vp for a wise person of great partes, and deepe Learning, When he that is Wise indeed is scarce look'd vpon, and scapes well, if he be but disregarded. I declaime not here against Witt, the Iewell of Learning, nor quicknesse of partes, the salte which seasons Discourse, nor readinesse of Expression, the life of our Thoughtes. And that you may be sure of it, I wold haue [fol. 29] you indeavour at that which the French soe much esteeme and practise, the Repartie, which is a quicke, smarte and pertinent Reply to any proposalls, especially in merriment and exercise of Witt. The aduantage you will gett by this, will be very great, if euer you shalbe necessitated to deale with the Courte, or your acquaintance shall ingage you into the Conuersation of the other sexe, which is generally strongly delighted with this dexterity of witt. Nor is it in your power to keepe off the reputation of Wisedome for this

[1] Cf. Bacon's "Of Simulation and Dissimulation," in *Works*, VI, 389: "And therefore it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, *Tell a lie and find a troth.*"

dexterity. But in the midst of all this Commendation I must tell you, That as many men of great Vnderstandings want it; soe more then many of smale capacity haue it; And indeed it is rather a guift of Nature, then the purchase of Arte.

In your conuersation, Take notice of him that is sparing of his Speech, for if it proceed not from Ignorance (which yet discouers some wisdome, that he knowes how to hold his peace, the lesse knowing being the greatest Talkers), he must be a man of great Modesty and Abilities. For solid, considering men not only Thinke theire Sence, but also choose theire wordes before they speake. Besides both which, they are inwardly busy, and debate within themselues the Circumstances of speech, vz^t^ the Decorum of place and persons, the seasonablenesse of Time, fitnesse of opportunity, all which ioyned with a modest distrust of theire owne partes, and tendernesse of giuing offence, and sometimes out of an auersnesse to dispute, wonder not if such as these speake seldome. Not that I allowe of superstitious regard of wordes, or approue of none but such as speake sentences. This is the Rocke to be avoyded on the other side, and heedfully least you incurre the suspition of Dullnesse and Formality, which cannot subsist with the Reputation of a Prudent Man.

Some men haue Witt enough to be vitious, none to be good; Quicke Disputers against Religion, dull as Beetles to defend it. A profane Witt, Franke, is a dangerous companion; for he will [fol. 30] soe dresse and sweeten his Atheisme, that I knowe not after what manner, but the poyson pleases, bewitches and infectes insensibly. Therefore take heede of making such thy Frind, whom I wold not haue thy Companion. And the Witt which God shall giue thee, imploy it to his honour and glory, remembring that Truth is a great aduantage.

Most men may be read in theire Lookes, and theire very Garbe and Gates will speake them quicke or slowe, furious or calme, soft or stubborne.

Neuer esteeme any man the more for his Dresse. If he be a Foole or vitious, his Ornaments make him but the more obseruable; And he is but one of the finer Route. This will instruct you not to despise Worth meanely cladd.

Some men discouer what Booke they read last by theire discourse: And as if they were ouer-gorg'd, throw vp the last meale of Learning

in the next company. Such as these are greedy Readers, but ill disgesters.

Learne also to distinguish the Constant man from the obstinate, the Valiant from the Rash, the Humble from the Base spiritt; for knowe that euery Vertue and fayre Quality has its Counterfeite; which sometimes is soe like, soe allmost the same, that it will require a discerning Eye to distinguish.

Though vpon good reason I haue kept you hitherto from a publicke schoole, yet I intend not to bring you vp in the shade. Such men's abilities are, like the plantes soe nourished, weake and faint, and are dazled when they come abroad into the Sunne. Noe, Franke, I will haue you Man, and will therefore accustome you to men.

Take heed of that Insinuation which has a Shew of Nature and simplicity.

For Conuersation.

Affront noe man with whom you dare not fight. When you fall into the company of Learned men, neuer want a question to propose for your satisfaction; for you doe honour to a Scholler when you intreate him to speake. But take heed of proposing Trifles. A discreete Person may as well be discouered by his Question as his Answere.

[Fol. 31] Whateuer you heare commended by vertuous and judging Persons, take notice of it and imitate it; and as carefully avoyd those Thinges which they condemne. Perhaps you may not see reason for it at present; if you doe not, rather mistrust your selfe then condemne them.

Conuerse not with the inferiour servants of the Family, nor with any notoriously vitious. For besides the danger of theire discourse, you make your selfe Cheape. And if distance and severity be necessary to any, they will be to your servants. Take therefore a speciall heed of a Familiarity with them, and suspect theire humoring your Vices. For if once they serue you in base vnworthy offices, from that time they become your Masters. And what an vnworthy thing is it! how vexing will it be to be awed by your seruant! and that you shall not dare to displease him for feare of his discouery! A seruant who dares speake Truth to your distaste and will not assist or obey you in thinges dishonourable or wicked, Cherish and Loue.

Distinguish your respects according to the quality of the persons, or theire interest in my Affection. Distance may become you to some, Familiarity to others, But let your distance be farre from Pride, and your Familiarity from Childishnesse.

Deserue not to be called an Easy Man. For besides, that it inuites a bold Fellowe to aske what is not fitting, it also more then any thinge lessens you in the Esteeme of Wise men, of whose censure you are to be very tender. Sweetnesse of nature and softnesse of disposition is a rare guift of God, and very much disposes man to Religion. But it must be well temper'd with discretion; then I shall prayse it. Softnesse I like well, soe it be not in the vnderstanding.

Avoyd all nicenesse and delicacy as well in Clothes as meate; neyther affect a singularity in eyther, especially in Forraigne partes, where application and complyance wilbe necessary. Your owne Sweate is the best Wash for your Face.

[Fol. 32] In euery thinge you speake or doe, descend not from the dignity of your Person. Allwayes Remember, that you are a Christian and a Gentleman.

If in a faire triall eyther of your Courage or partes, by sword or dispute, you haue the misfortune to be worsted, Let your Aduersary see, that a man of Honour can neuer be soe lowe, as not to be considerable, and if euer, then beare vp and make the Conquerour asham'd of his Victory. If it be your good fortune to prevayle, of all thinges in the world take heed of Insolence and Boasting; the Action will prayse it selfe, you neede not. Nay, the more modest you are in your Conquest, the more admirable you appeare; And the glory comes faster vpon you, by putting it off. Besides, you vanquish your Enemy agayne, if you vse him with Ciuility, and your Victory with modesty.

There are many actes of Generosity to be performed to an Enemy: As if a treacherous seruant or Frind shold offerre theire seruice to betray him to you, to scorne it, and discouer it (Shame not thy Victory by an ignoble atchieuement.); Or if he be brought on his knees, and lies at thy mercy, not to take aduantage further, then in relation to your security (Let him see Thou canst pardon as nobly, as contend.); If there be any thing deseruing in him, to giue it a publicke and due prayse; for thou makest him worthy of thy Contention, by Commending him. And in righting him, thou doest thy owne Iudgement right,

and thy Reputation too. For the World must free thee from Envy or Malice, when they heare thee soe iust to an Enemy. All or any of these, if he haue the least sparke of Generosity in him, must force him to be thy Frind and servant.

If thy Aduersary be scurrilous or rayle, returne not the like Language to him agayne. Thy spitting of him, wipes not off that he threw on thee: He is defiled and thou art not Cleane.

[Fol. 33] If you will prouoke to Liberty of speech, you must doe it by a like liberty, yet soe qualified that it may haue an vndiscern'd Caution and restraint.

Affect not to be busy to noe purpose. If any thinge be, this is to acte the Child.

At your Table be pleasant, but let not your selfe out to rude or extreame Laughter. The Prudent Man laughes within, and that which is but a smile in his face, is an huge Ioy at his hearte. Tis a secrett, tickling pleasure to giue occasion for others' Mirth, himselfe preseruing a becomming Grauity.[1]

Consider that soe many Waiters at the Table are soe many spies; And what may fall from you merrily and innocently, may be malitiously taken vp, and long after reported to your disaduantage. Therefore in all places, but there especially (by reason of the freedome and iollity which attend it, the Wine opening the Breast, and vnloosing the Tongue in most) Be very sparing of giuing any man's Character or Censuring ouer freely. But if you are to declare your selfe, be sure that you baske not vpon suspition, or flying Reporte, but vpon a notorious Conuiction, or generall dis-reputation; and too not without a generous Compassion. It is noble and cannot but shew handsomly, if when a Iudgement passes, you incline to the more fauourable Censure; vnless it be vpon an impudent Naughtinesse; to that you cannot be too seuere; it deserues a perfect hatred, and favour in such a case will looke like Complyance.

Liberality.

In your Liberality Consider: 1. What Thou dost giue; Be sure it be thy owne and that it hurte not the Receauer; 2. How much Thou

[1] For a discussion of the tradition against audible laughter, see *Modern Philology*, XXVI, 73–90.

giuest, that Thou preiudice not those that more neerly depend vpon Thee; 3. To whom Thou giuest, which wilbe another direction for the How much. In this Thou art to consider the Quality and Wantes of the Receauer. Most men will pitty the deseruing man's pouerty, doe thou relieue it.

I wold not haue thee a Beggar in a plentifull estate; of a poore, narrow mind, and of a full Fortune. Neyther scrape like a Wretch, nor spend like a Foole.

When you haue reason to doe a Courtesy, doe it like your selfe, nobly and handsomly. I could neuer endure to see a Fauour sneakingly performed, or by importunity extorted. It looses its grace and commendation: And his sollicitation, not your Goodness receaues the Thankes. In soe much as that which wold oblige another, is disrespected by him to the certayne losse of the Courtesy, and hazard of your Discretion.

Deare Franke.

From thy very affectionate
Father

Carbery.

Goldengroue the
30th of Sep: 1651.

The Great Mr. Locke
America's Philosopher, 1783-1861

By MERLE CURTI

ALTHOUGH no one has seriously questioned the great influence of John Locke [1] on American thought during the later part of the eighteenth century, students of American intellectual history have assumed by and large that his ideas were for the most part replaced during the first half of the nineteenth century by those of other philosophers. The purpose of this paper is, first, to test this assumption and, second, to explain the findings.

The importance of the first problem becomes clear when the extent of Locke's influence on Americans of the late eighteenth century is taken into account.[2] Political thought both before and during the American Revolution was profoundly affected by the *Two Treatises on Civil Government.* Otis, John and Samuel Adams, and other leading revolutionists quoted "the great Mr. Locke" reverently; Franklin, Hamilton, and Jefferson read and praised him. His natural-rights philosophy, including the doctrine that all government rests on the consent of the governed and may be overthrown by revolution if it persistently violates individual life, liberty, and property, was incorporated in the Declaration of Independence itself.[3] The similarity between his social and economic doctrines and those of the framers of the Constitution has likewise been pointed out.[4] However, Locke had

[1] For an excellent study of Locke's philosophy, see Sterling Power Lamprecht, *The Moral and Political Philosophy of John Locke* (New York, 1918).

[2] Alice M. Baldwin, *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution* (Durham, N.C., 1928), pp. 7, 10; Lewis Rosenthal, "Rousseau at Philadelphia," *Magazine of American History, with Notes and Queries,* XII, 46–47; Howard Mumford Jones, *America and French Culture, 1750–1848* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1927), pp. 361, 366, 368; Carl Becker, *The Declaration of Independence: A Study in the History of Political Ideas* (New York, 1922), pp. 27–28, 53, 56–57, 75; Benjamin F. Wright, *American Interpretations of Natural Law* (Cambridge, 1931).

[3] Herbert D. Foster, "International Calvinism through Locke and the Revolution of 1688," *American Historical Review,* XXXII, 475.

[4] The Rev. Paschal Larkin, *Property in the Eighteenth Century, with special reference to England and Locke* (Dublin and Cork, 1930), pp. 145 ff.

nearly as great an impact on theology as on political and social thought. Furthermore, the influence of his treatise on education should not be overlooked. His justification of religious toleration, his rationalistic theology, and his conception of the plastic character of human nature were all dear to America's children of the Enlightenment. It is scarcely too much to say, even when the importance of other thinkers is taken into account,[1] that Locke was America's philosopher during the Revolutionary period.

Yet it has been generally assumed that, when the nation found itself torn by "the second American Revolution" in 1861, Locke's name was not cherished as it had been three-quarters of a century earlier. Indeed, even a superficial inspection of the conventional literature of the fifties indicates that his authority no longer figured in any lively way in theological discussions and that his "mental philosophy" had long been under attack, and, if we follow leading students of American philosophy, had been largely replaced by the Scotch school of "common sense," French eclecticism, and German idealism. Locke's political ideas, according to authorities on the history of American political thought, no longer enjoyed their pre-eminence.[2]

The belief that Locke's influence during these seventy-five years was a waning one, is probably due to a failure to examine sufficient evidence. Historians of ideas in America have too largely based their conclusions on the study of formal treatises. But formal treatises do not tell the whole story. In fact, they sometimes give a quite false impression, for such writings are only a fraction of the records of intellectual history. For every person who laboriously wrote a systematic treatise, dozens touched the subject in a more or less casual fashion. Sometimes the fugitive essays of relatively obscure writers influenced the systematizers and formal authors quite as much as the

[1] Charles F. Mullett, in his *Fundamental Law and the American Revolution* (New York, 1933), qualifies Locke's influence on political thought by emphasizing that of Burlamqui, Pufendorf, and others.

[2] R. M. Wenley, *The Life and Work of George Sylvester Morris* (New York, 1919), p. 239; I. Woodbridge Riley, *American Thought from Puritanism to Pragmatism and Beyond* (New York, 1915), chap. 11; Harvey Gates Townsend, *Philosophical Ideas in the United States* (New York, 1934), pp. 101–2; Howard Mumford Jones, "The Influence of European Ideas in Nineteenth Century America," *American Literature*, VII, 251; Raymond G. Gettell, *History of American Political Thought* (New York, 1928), p. 569.

works of better-known men. The influence of a thinker does not pass from one major writer to another without frequently being transformed, or dissipated, or compressed in the hands of a whole series of people who responded to the thinker and his ideas. It is reasonably certain, moreover, that in the America of the early nineteenth century ephemeral writings, widely scattered as they were in pamphlets, tracts, and essays, reached a much wider audience and are often more reliable evidence of the climate of opinion than the more familiar works to which historians of ideas have naturally turned. The student of the vitality and modification of ideas may well direct his attention, then, toward out-of-the-way sermons, academic addresses, Fourth of July orations, and casual guides and essays.[1] By examining such irregular channels for the expression of ideas, it may be possible to learn to what extent Locke's ideas survived in any vital way during the period between the American Revolution and the Civil War.

Whether, on the one hand, Locke's ideas largely gave way to those of competing philosophers, or, on the other, they survived in some form, there is need for explanation. To a considerable extent students of intellectual history have sought to account for the disappearance of ideas, by assuming that they were supplanted by concepts that were either more valid or that in some way better fitted the spirit of newer times. This, however, is too vague an explanation to be very satisfactory.

The doctrine that men seek ideas to justify their activities and to promote their interests, that they think as they live, is hardly startling. If this is true it should follow that the vitality of ideas depends at least in part upon the effectiveness with which they function, on their usefulness to the interests which they serve. Ideas might be expected, then, to flourish when they answer a need and to wane when that need is no longer urgent. Although it is now almost thirty years since John Dewey asserted that thinking can best be explained in

[1] The Huntington Library is particularly rich in this type of fugitive material. I have examined there some five hundred academic addresses, Fourth of July orations, and election sermons.

I wish to express my indebtedness to Professor Marjorie Nicolson and to Dr. Fulmer Mood for their contributions to my thinking on the problem of materials in intellectual history. I am also grateful to members of the staff of the Huntington Library for valuable comments on this paper.

terms of functional relationships to human problems and needs, students of intellectual history have for the most part been little influenced by this concept. Nor have they been much affected by the still older but related contention that ideas are always associated with particular interests, and that the latter, broadly defined, have a way, in the never-ending conflict with antagonistic interests, of adopting, modifying, and even inventing ideas serviceable to themselves. Before attempting to appraise this hypothesis, let us test it by finding out what light it throws on the survival or the disappearance of Locke's ideas in the three-quarters of a century following the American Revolution. In short, one should be able to determine what interests or groups challenged Locke's ideas, and for what reasons; what groups defended his teachings, and why; and what happened as a result of this contest.

Locke's ideas are, of course, closely interrelated and not always consistent. They can nevertheless be grouped, for present purposes, into fairly well defined categories, such as education, religion and theology, mental philosophy, and political and economic theory.

We may begin by considering the fate of Locke's educational theories which were embodied in *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693). Horace Mann regarded this treatise as superior to all Locke's other works, and it was therefore with the more regret that the father of the common-school revival in Massachusetts, writing in 1840, felt compelled to admit that the great book had been "almost wholly neglected and forgotten."[1] A study of contemporary educational literature confirms Mann's observation. Locke's *Thoughts* had been reprinted in the United States but once in all this period, and an examination of the leading educational periodicals and reports reveals that they mentioned Locke only very occasionally in the period between 1800 and 1860. Even when he was cited it was chiefly to buttress some particular school program: for instance, the Boston School Committee in 1837 quoted his recommendation that music be taught in the schools, on the ground that he had defined recreation as "easing the weary part by change of business" and that music admirably

[1] Mary Tyler Mann, *Life and Works of Horace Mann* (Boston, 1891), II, 255.

served such a purpose.[1] Not until 1859 did Henry Barnard's *American Journal of Education* devote an article to Locke's pedagogy, and this, characteristically, was merely a translation of a critique of his educational theories from the pen of Karl von Raumer, a German whose word carried much weight among American schoolmen.[2]

This apparent neglect of Locke's *Thoughts Concerning Education* is all the more interesting in view of the educational awakening that took place between 1825 and 1860. To say that the educational essay was, unlike his other writings, unknown even to eighteenth-century Americans, is inaccurate, because there is considerable evidence pointing to the familiarity of not a few colonial Americans with the work. To American children of the Enlightenment there was, indeed, a strong appeal in many of the educational doctrines it laid down. Liberal spokesmen of the middle class, which attached great value to enterprise, had welcomed Locke's emphasis on the importance of a sound body and on wisdom in managing affairs. As active, practical people, they had also relished Locke's insistence on the training of the senses rather than the memory; as critics of many sanctions of the past they had liked his stressing of reason rather than authority. Benjamin Franklin and Joseph Priestley had quoted Locke and were influenced by his educational theories: Franklin's *Sketch of an English School* reflected the utilitarianism of Locke,[3] while Priestley helped to popularize his criticism of indoctrination, a practice which Locke had said was little more than the inculcation of error and prejudice in the name of imposing "right principles" on immature minds.[4]

If Locke's educational theories were favorably known to liberal representatives of America's important middle class in the late eighteenth century, the absence of direct reference to them in the great quantity of educational literature in the first half of the nineteenth

[1] *The Common School Journal*, III (1841), 189. *The Academician*, I, 6 (Feb. 7, 1818), quoted Locke in support of the idea that a certain amount of one's time should be given to trifles if any of the remainder was to be employed with efficacy and vigor.

[2] *The American Journal of Education*, VI, 200–222.

[3] *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Albert H. Smyth (New York, 1907), II, 387, III, 28. See also Theodore Hornberger, "A Note on the Probable Source of Provost Smith's Famous Curriculum for the College of Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LVIII, 377.

[4] Joseph Priestley, *Miscellaneous Observations relating to Education* (New London, 1796), p. 14; and especially "Appendix No. 3" in *Memoirs of Dr. Priestley* . . . (London, 1806), p. 369.

century is the more noteworthy. It must be remembered that Locke favored private rather than public education — his treatise, in fact, had been written primarily for tutors in the families of well-to-do gentry and merchants. Hence the groups in nineteenth-century America which stood for mass education at public expense naturally found little in Locke to give them aid or prestige. But those who adhered to the older concept of family or tutorial instruction, who went on thinking of education as a private matter, could continue to derive sustenance from Locke. And they did. An examination, not of the formal treatises and reports of the great leaders in the public-school revival but of the casual, fugitive guides for parental and tutorial education for middle-class families, shows that the ideas of Locke remained influential.

Readers of the *Memoirs of the Bloomsgrove Family* (1790), for instance, were treated to a generous feast of Locke. The author of this engaging manual, Enos Hitchcock, a Congregationalist clergyman of Providence, revealed that it was from "the great Mr. Locke" that Mrs. Bloomsgrove, a model educator, drew her ideas on the importance, in education, of a sympathetic understanding of child nature and of fresh air and exercise — in short, of "a sound mind in a sound body." [1] A generation later, to take another example from this informal type of manual, Mrs. Louisa Hoare, in her *Hints for the Improvement of Early Education and Nursery Discipline*, quoted Locke time and again.[2] Like other authors of this genre of pedagogical guides, Mrs. Hoare shared Locke's belief that the road to knowledge may well be made short and easy. But what impressed her most was that he considered proper manners more important than learning, and second only to religion and virtue. How well adapted to the rising, ambitious middle class was this idea! Good manners, which could be acquired by anyone, added lustre to virtue and served generally as a passport to preferment. Moreover, Mrs. Hoare was not alone in upholding as a pattern Locke's conception of a gentleman.[3]

[1] Enos Hitchcock, D.D., *Memoirs of the Bloomsgrove Family* (Boston, 1790), pp. 86–87, 95, *et passim*.

[2] [Mrs. Louisa Hoare] *Hints for the Improvement of Early Education and Nursery Discipline* (Keene, N.H., 1826), pp. 24–25, 31.

[3] For example, see Francis Lieber, *Reminiscences, Addresses, and Essays* (Philadelphia, 1881), I, 247.

Locke's educational precepts, as well as his "mental philosophy," were spread broadcast in the widely read *Improvement of the Mind*, by Isaac Watts, the famous English nonconformist writer of hymns and moral guides. This work, known familiarly as "Watts on the Mind," was almost universally used in the private academies and seminaries that sprang up so rapidly in the early years of the republic. It would, indeed, be hard to overstate the influence of Watts's popularization of Locke among middle-class Americans who patronized these institutions of learning.

However, it was not only through these informal pedagogical guides in the domestic circles of the well-to-do, and popular texts in the private seminaries, that Locke's educational ideas survived. While, as we have seen, the champions of the public schools did not find Locke's emphasis on private education useful, indirectly they were subject to his influence, for in going to school to Rousseau, Fellenberg, and Pestalozzi they went to school to Locke. In their emphasis on health, learning through doing, and character training, these men were reflecting Locke's teachings. Above all, they shared his faith in the possibility of modifying human nature by changing the environment of youth. It was this faith which inspired American democrats with devotion to education as the best means of insuring the success of their republican experiment and of solving social ills.[1] Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and the French materialists, and back of them Locke, were the intellectual fathers of the American faith in education as the road to Utopia.

If one asks why the fathers of the common-school revival during the 1820's and 1830's turned to continental writers rather than to Locke himself, an explanation has already been suggested in part. For inspiration and guidance, the Horace Manns, the Henry Barnards, and their colleagues quite naturally looked to the Continent, and especially to Germany, where a state system of public schools for all children had been put on a firm footing. They also cast their eyes on Switzerland, where the schools of Fellenberg and Pestalozzi, which combined learning with the doing of practical

[1] See Joshua Bates, *An Inaugural Oration pronounced March 18, 1818, at Middlebury College* (Middlebury, 1818), for an example of an explicit correlation of Locke's philosophy with the American faith in education.

tasks, seemed particularly congenial to Americans who saw the value of an immediately useful education for a new society engaged in building a physical civilization in the wilderness. Locke, who had favored the private education of children of the middle class and who believed that a minimum of instruction in the principles of religion and trade was sufficient for the rest, seemed to have little to offer to sponsors of a truly democratic and publicly supported school system.[1] So they did not quote him, but contented themselves with borrowing from the continental writers that portion of his educational theory which did fit their needs. In this manner the ideas of Locke, in so far as they served interests or filled needs, continued to live on different levels and in different ways. On the one hand, they persisted directly in the casual manuals for private education; on the other, indirectly through the adoption of Lockean precepts which, combined with precepts of continental educators, met the demands of practical-minded leaders of the public-school revival.

Turning from the educational to the theological doctrines of Locke, one recalls, first of all, that he was indirectly among the fathers of both English and American deism.[2] In various writings, notably in *The Reasonableness of Christianity*[3] and in *An Essay for the Understanding of St. Paul's Epistles*[4] as well as in his *Letters on Toleration*, Locke subjected the tenets of Christian theology to reason and maintained that natural knowledge was more certain than miracles and revelation.[5] These writings, like the *Essay Concerning Human Under-*

[1] It is clear that, while some of the educational writers discussed in Allen Oscar Hansen, *Liberalism and American Education in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1926), showed a direct familiarity with Locke, most of the essayists borrowed more heavily from the continental writers.

[2] S. G. Hefelbower, *The Relation of John Locke to English Deism* (Chicago, 1918), pp. 173 ff.; Norman L. Torrey, *Voltaire and the English Deists* (New Haven, 1930), pp. 173 ff.; Herbert M. Morais, *Deism in Eighteenth Century America* (New York, 1934), pp. 16–17, 29, 35, 38.

[3] In addition to the various English editions of Locke's writings which were easily accessible to American readers, this work could be read in separate American editions: Boston, 1811, and New York, 1836.

[4] Republished in Boston in 1820 and in 1823.

[5] Boston, 1743; Windsor, Vt., 1788; Stockbridge, Mass., 1790. For an interesting example of the practical influence of the *Letters on Toleration*, see George Willis Cooke, *Unitarianism in America, A History of its Origin and Development* (Boston, 1902), p. 43.

standing (1690), tended to break down barriers between the world of matter and the world of spirit, between man and nature — in short, tended to make it less difficult for men to believe that they themselves "correspond with the general harmony of Nature." Although Locke maintained that reason and experience are confirmed by divine revelation, his whole approach paved the way for the later and more thoroughgoing deists. For his God was, after all, a constitutional God, who did not trespass too much on the daily concerns of his creatures. Moreover, the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* likewise fed the springs of deism, inasmuch as its plea for reliance on sensory experience and reflection rather than on innate ideas and the "mysterious," tended to undermine the traditional sanctions of orthodoxy. Locke's position was, in many respects, anticipatory of that maintained a hundred years later by the early Unitarians.

Indeed, it is clear that Locke and his disciples, particularly Samuel Clarke, explicitly influenced American Unitarians from Charles Chauncey to Joseph Buckminster, Joseph Priestley, Charles Follen, William Ellery Channing, and Andrews Norton.[1] Locke's religious writings, including his *Letters on Toleration*, were frequently cited in the discussions of liberal Trinitarian as well as Unitarian clergymen, in their efforts to defend their position against both orthodox criticism and "atheistic" attacks.[2] Thus, in the *Christian Examiner* in 1832, in reviewing Lord King's *Life of Locke*, the Reverend W. B. O. Peabody not only paid high tribute to Locke's *Reasonableness of Christianity* but virtually claimed him as a Unitarian. "We admire Locke as an example of the manly Christian character, and the union of vast intellectual growth with calm and fervent devotion, so beautifully displayed in his life and writings, shows what our religion is when it resides in a powerful mind and an open heart." [3] We shall see that

[1] Cooke, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13, 43; *Memoirs of William Ellery Channing, with extracts from his correspondence and manuscripts* (Boston, 1848), I, 149; *Memoirs of Rev. Joseph Buckminster, D.D., and of His Son, Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminster. By Eliza Buckminster Lee* (Boston, 1849), p. 246; *The Theological and Miscellaneous Works of Joseph Priestley, LL.D., F.R.S.*, ed., with notes, by John Towill Rutt (London, 1817–22), II, 221, 257, VII, 411, XIV, 91 ff., XVII, 10, XXIII, 339; *The Works of Charles Follen* (Boston, 1841), III, 99, 101, 168.

[2] For example, Romeo Elton, D.D., *The Literary Remains of the Rev. Jonathan Maxcy, D.D., with a Memoir of his Life* (New York, 1844), pp. 427–28.

[3] *The Christian Examiner*, N.S., VIII, 381 ff., 402 (Jan., 1832).

Locke's writings were regarded by conservative Unitarians as a first line of defense when the transcendentalists raised the flag of revolt. On the other hand, the left-wing deists who popularized the cult — men like the militant, fearless Elihu Palmer — drew heavily on Locke, as well as on Holbach, Hume, and Bolingbroke. Palmer wrote in his *Principles of Human Nature*:

> It was not the discovery of physical truths alone that bore relation to the revelation of the human species; it was reserved for Locke, and other powerful minds, to unfold the eternal structure of the intellectual world — explain the operations of the human structure of the human understanding — explore the sources of thought, and unite sensation and intellect in the same subject, and in a manner cognizable by the human faculties. Locke has, perhaps, done more than Newton, to subvert the credit of *divine Revelation*.[1]

In the forties and fifties, however, the religious writings of Locke no longer played a notable role in theological discussions. There was a variety of reasons for their decline in favor. Popular deism, reaching its high-water mark at the turn of the century, had been identified by conservatives with the excesses of the French Revolution. Discredited, it provided the soil for a conventional religious reaction which expressed itself, in part, in the evangelical revivals that swept the country. In such a climate of opinion and feeling, the rationalism of Locke lost its influence, for advocates of evangelical religion found no comfort in its cold, reasoned, apologetic treatises. Circuit riders, camp meetings, and revivals answered the emotional needs of pioneers and ill-adjusted city people far better than any kind of rationalism. The new conservative religious attitude toward Locke was well expressed in an article in the *Encyclopedia Americana* of 1836. In attempting to analyze the human soul, "as an anatomist proceeds in investigating a body, piece by piece," Locke had, according to this article, unintentionally supported materialism, for he had suggested that God could, by his omnipotence, make matter capable of thinking — a doctrine considered dangerous to orthodox belief by virtue of its identification of God and mind.[2] And when at length Locke's psy-

[1] Elihu Palmer, *Principles of Nature; or, A Development of the Moral Causes of Happiness and Misery among the Human Species* (London, 1819), pp. 94–95.

[2] *Encyclopedia Americana, A Popular Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature, History, Politics, and Biography* (Philadelphia, 1836), VIII, 38.

chology and philosophy came to be rejected by a growing number of intellectuals, it was natural for liberal defenders of the faith to turn to writers, like De Wette, Baur, and Schleiermacher, whose basic philosophical assumptions were more congenial.[1] Thus, in 1817 an English visitor found the religious works of Locke practically unknown to New York book dealers.[2] Even the new edition of *The Reasonableness of Christianity*, published in New York in 1836, was but a belated echo of an earlier vogue.

Locke's influence on American philosophy and psychology has been profound. His leading theories in these fields — theories which at the beginning of the eighteenth century had been considered so subversive that Calvinistic Yale warned its students against the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* — gradually made their way in academic circles. Samuel Johnson, a tutor at Yale, broke the ground at least as early as 1719; and Jonathan Edwards, in his fifteenth year, read and was deeply influenced by the *Essay*. Even after Samuel Johnson became a disciple of Berkeley, he recommended Locke to his pupils at King's College. Certainly by 1800 Locke dominated philosophic studies in American colleges.[3]

In 1829, however, President Marsh of the University of Vermont could write to Coleridge that, whereas Locke had formerly been taught in colleges, Stewart, Campbell, and Brown had replaced him.[4] Although Locke was restored at Harvard in 1833 by Joel Giles and used at least until 1841, the statement of President Marsh was substantially true.[5]

Yet this fact need not be interpreted to mean that Locke's influence thereby came to an end. In 1830 a generation of young men trained by his *Essay* was just beginning its active life. Moreover, many of the American texts on mental and moral philosophy which

[1] *The Dial*, Apr., 1842, pp. 485–528.

[2] Henry Bradshaw Fearon, *Sketches of America* (London, 1818), p. 35.

[3] P. Emory Aldrich, "John Locke and the Influence of His Works in America," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society at the semi-annual meeting, held in Boston, Apr. 30, 1879* (Worcester, 1879), pp. 22–30.

[4] *The Remains of the Rev. James Marsh, D.D.*, ed. J. L. Torrey (Boston, 1843), p. 136.

[5] Benjamin Rand, "Philosophical Instruction at Harvard University, 1639–1900," *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, XXXVII, 46; I. Woodbridge Riley, *American Philosophy, The Early Schools* (New York, 1907), pp. 316, 476; *The Dial*, July, 1841, p. 89.

were widely used in colleges embodied ample portions of Locke's philosophical treatise. At Bowdoin, for example, Thomas C. Upham, professor of mental and moral philosophy, substituted his own text in 1827 for Locke, but his book, in fact, both summarized the essential ideas of Locke and paid him high tribute.[1] It will be recalled, also, that the widely read "Watts on the Mind" was a popularization of Locke. In conceiving of mind as possessing functions, powers, or faculties of behaving, such as memory, observation, and reason, it provided the basis of "faculty psychology." Implicit in this system of psychology was the belief in the desirability of formal discipline through concrete experiences and particular mental disciplines. Less used texts in mental philosophy, which were for the most part eclectic, seldom failed to pay high tribute to Locke and to draw heavily from his *Essay*.[2]

Thus it was that an entire generation of Americans knew Locke's mental philosophy better than that of any other writer. The *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* was considered indispensable. Washington Irving, touring Europe in 1804, included it in his "solemn reading list."[3] Daniel Webster at Dartmouth devoured it and actually committed to memory great portions of both the *Essay* and of "Watts on the Mind."[4] Emma Willard struggled with the *Essay* at Middlebury in 1812, on the threshold of her educational career.[5] James Russell Lowell, "rusticated" from Harvard in 1838, agreed to read and report on it to a private tutor,[6] while Thomas Wentworth Higginson, on leaving the same institution in 1841, had acquired "something of Locke's philosophy."[7] Even after it was subjected to

[1] Thomas C. Upham, *Elements of Mental Philosophy* (New York, 1848), *passim*.

[2] George Payne, *Elements of Mental and Moral Science* (New York, 1829), p. iv; Lyman W. Hall, *Elementary Outline of Mental Philosophy; for use of Schools* (Cleveland, 1845), III, 115, 117; Margaret Mercer, *Popular Lectures on Ethics, or Moral Obligation* (Petersburg, Va., 1841), pp. 66–68.

[3] Stanley T. Williams, *The Life of Washington Irving* (New York, 1935), I, 67.

[4] Rev. Joseph Haven, *An Address delivered before the Students of Amherst College and the Citizens of the Town, Nov. 17, 1852* (Amherst, 1853), p. 13.

[5] Alma Lutz, *Emma Willard, Daughter of Democracy* (Boston and New York, 1929), p. 45.

[6] Horace Elisha Scudder, *James Russell Lowell, a Biography* (Boston and New York, 1901), I, 47.

[7] Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Cheerful Yesterdays* (Boston and New York, 1898), pp. 69–70.

frontal attacks, new champions such as Frederick Beasley, Alexander Everett, Andrews Norton, and Francis Bowen, rose up to defend it. That the demand for it continued is borne out by the chronological distribution of the twelve American editions between the Revolution and the Civil War. So much, in fact, was the *Essay* a household phrase that James Kirke Paulding could make one of his characters in a novel of 1832 declare that Locke's analysis of the human understanding was the only one which the human understanding could comprehend.[1] If further evidence of the persistence of Locke's philosophy be needed, a goodly number of references to it in academic addresses and similar fugitive literature could be cited. It is, in truth, the frequency of the Lockean assumptions in this sort of material which provides the most convincing proof of the pervasiveness and tenacity of Locke's philosophy.

What was back of this vogue for "the great Mr. Locke" during the first three or four decades of the republic? During a period of democratic faith in the future, in an age in which it was necessary to take an optimistic view of the possibilities of the American experiment, a plastic conception of human nature was highly desirable if not indispensable. So those who were eager to demonstrate the possibility of a successful democracy welcomed Locke's concept that man is largely a creature of his experience, of his environment in the larger sense. If liberal, humane, and democratic influences could be guaranteed through proper training and institutions, the highest potentialities of mankind might be realized; then a democracy might function satisfactorily.

A study of the fugitive literature of the early republic indicates that Locke was frequently appealed to as an authority for belief in the plastic, democratic conception of human nature — a conception which his disciples, the French materialists, had also done much to spread. But Locke was preferred, in general, to the French school. Indeed, he was the choice of even the followers of Jefferson who were in closer sympathy with the France of the Revolution than with the England of the reaction.

[1] James Kirke Paulding, *Westward Ho! A Tale* (New York, 1832), I, 56. See also Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Boston and New York, 1902), p. 55, for the influence that Locke's *Essay* later had on Longfellow.

Closely paraphrasing the essential ideas in the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Abraham Holmes, of New Bedford, declared in an oration of 1796 that all social happiness depends on proper early experience, and that for the first time in history America, having thrown off tyranny, had established equal rights and individual freedom — had, in short, provided the proper environment for realizing man's potentialities. Have a care for public worship, universities, libraries, literary societies, and similar conditioning institutions, Holmes admonished, and the injurious and shameful practices which have long been a disgrace to the very name of human nature will disappear.[1] Another champion of democracy, Tunis Wortman, a New York lawyer and publicist, likewise denounced the view that man's vices are stamped on his original constitution. He attributed the evils hitherto so destructive to human happiness to the errors and abuses that had inhered in political arrangements — that is, in monarchical and aristocratic institutions. He cited Locke to prove that man was not born with innate ideas, but that nine out of ten parts of a man's traits are what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by virtue of experience and training. Wortman insisted that, once human nature was thought of as malleable, there was no need for despairing of the ability of men to govern themselves intelligently and for the public good.[2] Moreover, these were not lone voices, as any thorough investigation of the out-of-the-way literature of the early republic proves.

Such a picture of human nature was indispensable to certain groups and interests in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The period was one of rapid migration from rural areas to mill towns and cities, with consequent social poverty, vice, and general degradation. In the Old World, republican institutions were generally regarded as utterly incapable of dealing with these new evils or even with the most traditional problems of government. It was a period when the eighteenth-century vision of the heavenly city, temporarily beclouded by the chaos and fear of the French Revolution, was nevertheless seizing the imaginations of tender-minded Americans, who became pioneer

[1] Abraham Holmes, *An Oration, delivered at the First Precinct Meeting-House in Middleborough, before the Philological Society, on the first Wednesday in June, A.D. 1796* (New Bedford, 1797), pp. 8–12, 21 ff.

[2] Tunis Wortman, *An Oration on the Influence of Social Institutions Upon Human Morals and Happiness, delivered before the Tammany Society* (New York, 1796), pp. 7–8, 24.

exponents of the gospel of social progress. Locke's conception of human nature, differing as it did from the Calvinistic idea of predestination, was good ammunition for the humanitarian and reform groups which began, in the second decade of the last century, to form associations to uproot war, outlaw intemperance, and abolish slavery, poverty, and every social ill. The underlying psychology of Frances Wright, Robert Owen, and the Utopian Socialists is essentially that of "the great Mr. Locke." [1] Although reformers did not find Locke's philosophy and psychology adequate for all their purposes, its importance to crusading humanitarianism can scarcely be overemphasized.

These three or four decades after the American Revolution were also years when the individual was being rapidly released from traditional ties. The industrial revolution was disrupting the system of apprenticeship and undermining the family as an economic unit, and both were still further thrown out of joint by the lure of free lands in the West. As a result the individual was more and more coming to think of himself as a free agent. In a relatively limited cultural environment the necessity of self-education was likewise good gospel. Thus Locke's philosophy, emphasizing the doctrine of individualism, the idea that man, within limits, was a free agent, ministered to the needs and desires of a people in such a time and on such a stage.[2] As Professor Becker has observed, men in general are influenced by writings that clarify their own notions, that suggest ideas which they are prepared to accept. In other words, ideas thrive according to the importance of the function that they serve.

American society during the first half of the nineteenth century, however, was by no means homogeneous. The wide variety of interests and needs that were in conflict with each other cannot even be suggested here. But one major contest in our intellectual life demands

[1] Robert Owen, *Two Discourses on a New System of Society; as delivered in the Hall of Representatives of the United States* (Pittsburgh, 1825), pp. 22–23; Frances Wright, *Courses on Popular Lectures* (New York, 1829). For the attitude of later American social reformers toward Locke, see William D. P. Bliss, *The New Encyclopedia of Social Reform* (New York, 1908), pp. 727–28.

[2] Nicholas Baylies, *An Essay on the Powers and Faculties of the Human Mind* (Montpelier, Vt., 1828), Preface *et passim*. Baylies was a learned lawyer and judge. For a sketch of him, see *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, I, No. 4 (1867), p. 352.

emphasis. By the early thirties the Northeast was becoming so rapidly industrialized that, to many, America seemed to stand for canals and railways, wharves and factories. From this industrialization sensitive souls drew back in horror and dismay, for it seemed to them that the mechanical trend in American civilization, the preoccupation with "curious mechanical contrivances and adaptations of matter, which it discovered by means of its telescopes, microscopes, dissections and other mechanical aids," was destroying human and spiritual values. And was not all this mechanism in our industrial organization, in morals, and in politics, the inevitable and direct result of a sensationist philosophy which denied the primary intuitions of the soul? Was not the solution for such misfortunes to be found, in part at least, in a repudiation of Locke and the empiricists and in drinking deeply of the spiritual nourishment of the Cambridge Platonists, Coleridge, and the German idealists? [1]

Some of these protestants against mechanism in American life, moreover, were sensitive to the social injustices seemingly inherent in the new mechanical order — injustices patent enough, they felt, to anyone whose eyes were not blinded. The empirical and sensationist philosophy, by virtue of the plastic character with which it endowed human nature, was sometimes used to support democratic ideals. But by 1840 a fresh generation of New Englanders saw that it could be used against the doctrine that all men are created equal. As Jonathan Saxton, farmer and transcendentalist, put it:

> Sensation, then, does not, and by its own terms cannot, see man but in his outward condition, and his personal and social rights are such only, as can be logically inferred from the circumstances in which he is placed. Whatever is, in relation to society, is right, simply because it is. . . . [Sensation] finds man everywhere divided into high and low in social position, and concludes that gradation of ranks is of divine appointment. . . . This philosophy looks calmly on, and bids these ignorant, starving, scourged, and bleeding millions take comfort, for their lot is ordained by destiny that though the earth spreads out provisions liberally for all her children, the

[1] Jonathan A. Saxton, "Prophecy, Transcendentalism, Progress," *The Dial*, July, 1841, pp. 88–89, 103 ff. Saxton was graduated from Harvard in 1813, edited journals in Northampton, Troy, and Greenfield, and then settled down as a farmer in Deerfield. He was one of the earliest abolitionists and wrote and lectured on co-operation and social reform. See G. W. Cooke, "The Dial," in *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, XIX, 259.

arrangements of nature would be defeated, if all should partake of them. . . . As this philosophy begets skepticism and infidelity in religion, so it has no faith, and no promise for man in his social and political relations.[1]

Unwilling to reject faith in equality, which seemed divine and transcendent, some radicals thus felt forced to repudiate the whole philosophy of empiricism and sensationism and to fall back on that of innate ideas. For if the idea of equality of men did not originate in experience, if indeed it was refuted by the facts of observation and historical investigation, then it must be an innate idea, an inborn truth, having its validity in an appeal to "the universal spiritual intuitions of Humanity." There can be no doubt, as a study of the *Dial*, and more particularly of a vast quantity of random literature, indicates, that this social dissatisfaction with the new industrial order and all its abuses and inequalities and material emphasis led many to reject Locke's philosophy, or upheld them in their rejection of it.[2] Frederic H. Hedge, one of the founders of the Transcendental Club, brought this consideration clearly to the fore in a Fourth of July oration at Bangor in 1838. Did Heaven send its divine, transcendent truth of Universal Love, he asked, merely that men might live permanently in a society in which some were high, others low, some rich, others poor, some groveling in misery, others luxuriating in ease?[3] Emerson himself, in his *Lecture on the Times*, insisted that the soul of reform could not be sensualism, nor any materialistic force, but rather a transcendent principle — namely, reliance on "the sentiment of men."[4]

Abolitionists likewise found the doctrine of innate ideas more congenial than the teachings of Locke. When confronted by the argument of empiricists that the slaves needed experience for the proper use of liberty, William Hosmer insisted that liberty was both an innate idea and an innate capacity in every human being. "Liberty being the birth-right of man, the natural and normal condition of his existence,

[1] *The Dial*, July, 1841, p. 100.

[2] *Ibid.*, Apr., 1841, p. 422; July, 1841, pp. 88–117 *et passim*.

[3] Frederic H. Hedge, *An Oration, pronounced before the Citizens of Bangor, on the Fourth of July, 1838* (Bangor, Me., 1838), pp. 33–36.

[4] Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Lecture on the Times*, in *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson* ("Autograph Centenary Edition"; Cambridge, 1903–4), I, 276.

all the preparation he needs for its enjoyment is born with him. He gets his fitness for liberty, as he gets his hands and his feet — not by education, but by inheritance. It is born with him, and constitutes a part of his being." [1] In short, it appeared to social reformers that the work of regeneration might best go forward with an anti-Lockean psychology, for Locke's political tenets were still held in high regard.

The revolt — for such it was — did not, of course, begin all at once. Even during his college days (1794–98) William Ellery Channing had been "saved," as he later put it, from Locke's philosophy by the reading of Dr. Richard Price's *Dissertations:* "He gave me the doctrine of ideas, and during my life I have written the words Love, Right, etc., with a capital." [2] Price also gave Channing a zeal for humanitarianism and social reform. It was in Channing's study, in fact, that the peace movement was launched, and he became an early critic of slavery and of unfettered property rights.

One of the first explicit signs of the revolt against Locke was Sampson Reed's "commencement part" at Harvard in 1821 — an address which young Ralph Waldo Emerson, an undergraduate, heard with eagerness. "The science of the human soul," declared Reed, who was already on the way to becoming a Swedenborgian, "must change with its subject. Locke's mind will not always be the standard of metaphysics. Had we a description of it in its present state, it would make a very different book from 'Locke on the Human Understanding.'" [3] The reaction against Locke was indeed in the air. Four years later James Freeman Clarke, entering Harvard, read Coleridge and his American interpreter, President James Marsh of the University of Vermont,[4] and was thereby confirmed in his longing for a "higher philosophy" than that of Locke and Hartley, from whom he had taken his first philosophical lessons in his grandfather's library. To use Clarke's own words, "Something within me revolted at all such attempts to explain soul out of sense, deducing mind from matter, or

[1] William Hosmer, *The Higher Law in its Relations to Civil Government* (Auburn, N.Y., 1852), pp. 148–50.

[2] *Memoirs of William Ellery Channing*, I, 66.

[3] *Aesthetic Papers*, ed. Elizabeth P. Peabody (Boston, 1849), pp. 63–64; Clarence Paul Hotson, "Sampson Reed, a Teacher of Emerson," *New England Quarterly*, II, 248–77.

[4] Marjorie H. Nicolson, "James Marsh and the Vermont Transcendentalists," *Philosophical Review*, XXXIV, 28–48.

tracing the origin of ideas to nerves, vibrations, and vibratiuncles." Coleridge at this point rescued him. Accepting the English poet's "distinction between the reason and the understanding judging by sense," he lived again in the realization that knowledge begins *with* experience although it does not come *from* experience.[1] At the Harvard Divinity School, Clarke and other candidates for the Unitarian ministry came in contact, after 1830, with Henry Ware, the younger, who led his students to Coleridge, Goethe, the Platonists, and church mystics, thus delivering them from "the wooden philosophy" of John Locke, before which as undergraduates they had been made to bend the knee.

The same revolt may be found in Emerson prior to the writing of his classic essay on Nature and his Divinity School Address (1837). On July 4, 1834, at the age of thirty-one, he wrote in his *Journal* that Locke had given him little — that he was much more indebted to persons of lesser names.[2] Locke is as surely the "influx of decomposition as Bacon and the Platonists [are] of growth," he wrote much later.[3] In his essay, *The Transcendentalist* (1842), he went even further in his repudiation of the sensationist philosophy of Locke and in his hearty acceptance of Kant's "imperative forms" — intuitions of the mind itself through which experience is acquired.[4]

What one finds in these leaders of the transcendental movement is encountered again and again in many of the commencement addresses and occasional lectures and essays of less-known figures. For example, in pleading for a union of action and speculation, President John Williamson Nevin, of Marshall College, called for a distinctively American philosophy which would right the sad disproportion in American life between outward activity and inward consciousness, full self-possession, and inner control. To him philosophy without action seemed helpless and liable to disease, and action without philosophy appeared equally untrustworthy. Responsive as he was to the German idealism in Mercersburg, he believed that Kant was well designed to bridge the gap. Thus he roundly condemned Locke, Hume, and

[1] *James Freeman Clarke: Autobiography, Diary and Correspondence*, ed. Edward Everett Hale (Boston and New York, 1892), p. 39.

[2] *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston and New York, 1909–14), III, 501.

[3] *Ibid.*, VIII, 492.

[4] *Complete Works*, I, 340, IV, 136, V, 238.

the French materialists for promoting, as he supposed, only the activist, outer, so-called practical elements in the national life.[1] This revolt against what was interpreted as the materialistic implications of Locke, during a period in which physical expansion seemed to be capturing all American life, is an interesting example of ideas and interests in conflict and at work.

Academic leaders in other sections of the country took like ground.[2] Professor D. D. Whedon of the University of Michigan, speaking before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Wesleyan University in 1850, denounced the "materialism" of Locke, the low expediency of Paley, the lack of will of Edwards, the atheism of Hume — for the first taught that man had no soul, the second, no conscience, the third, no will, and the fourth, no God. The present period demanded, continued Whedon, a philosophy recognizing the soul, "the power of knowing ideas that transcend matter; and so authenticates the belief in a spiritual and immortal nature."[3] Locke's philosophy was many-sided, and certain Americans were reacting against him because some aspects of his work, and the implications involved, were, in a changing scene, uncongenial to their interests and their values.

It was not only, however, from the neo-Platonists, from Coleridge, and from Kantian idealists that the American critics of Locke derived inspiration and a substitute philosophy. The eclecticism of Victor Cousin and Jouffroy was introduced by H. G. Linberg, Orestes A. Brownson, George Ripley, and the Reverend Caleb Sprague Henry.[4]

[1] John Williamson Nevin, D.D., *Human Freedom and a Plea for Philosophy* (Mercersburg, Pa., 1850), pp. 34–36, 41–43. Nevin had taken similar ground as early as 1844. See his *National Taste. An Address* (Chambersburg, Pa., 1844), p. 17. For Nevin's life consult Theodore Appel, *The Life and Work of John Williamson Nevin* (Philadelphia, 1889).

[2] For southern criticisms of the materialistic and utilitarian implications of Locke's philosophy, see James Hammond, *Oration before the two Societies of South-Carolina College, Dec. 4, 1849* (Charleston, 1849), p. 44, and *Southern Quarterly Review*, I, 44. Still later, Robert L. Dabney devoted a book to an attack on the sensualistic philosophy, in which Locke was not spared. (*The Sensualistic Philosophy of the Nineteenth Century Considered* [New York, 1875], pp. 15–22.)

[3] D. D. Whedon, *The Man Republic: A Phi Beta Kappa Oration, delivered at the Wesleyan University, August 1859* (Middletown, Conn., 1850), pp. 15–16.

[4] H. G. Linberg (tr.), *Introductions to the History of Philosophy by Victor Cousin* (Boston, 1832); George Ripley, *Specimens of Foreign Literature* (14 vols.; Boston, 1838); James Murdock, D.D., *Sketches of Modern Philosophy, especially among the Germans* (Hartford, 1842); *The Works of Orestes A. Brownson*, ed. Henry F. Brownson (Detroit, 1883), IV, 359. For the

In this group the most unflagging efforts came from Henry, a man of personal magnetism, vivacity, and literary enthusiasm. After graduating from Dartmouth in 1824, Henry studied theology at Andover, entered the Congregationalist ministry, took part in the peace crusade during his residence at Hartford, and became an Episcopalian minister in 1836. Two years later he accepted a professorship of intellectual and moral philosophy at New York University, a post which he held with great success for many years. In 1834 he translated Cousin's *Elements of Psychology*, a treatise destined to become celebrated in American philosophical circles by reason of its criticism of Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Henry was attracted to Cousin by virtue of what appeared to him to be the most thorough, clear, and convincing criticism of Locke that had ever been made. This refutation, he believed, would establish the very foundations of morality and religion against the subversive principles of Locke and his disciple, Paley.[1] Cousin's doctrine of spontaneous reason (according to which reason, when uncontrolled by the will or when left free to develop undirected by the voluntary faculty, always apprehended things as they are) exerted considerable influence on the transcendentalists.[2]

The appearance of the first edition of Henry's translation of Cousin's *Elements of Psychology* — there were four editions in all — stirred up much opposition, especially in Princeton circles, where Locke had not yet been replaced by the Scottish school. An article in the *Princeton Review*,[3] early in 1839, attacked Henry and Cousin as "infidel expounders" of Locke who "sneered" at the great master for not having discovered a hypocritical way of making Christianity easily palatable to the critically minded. Cousin was represented as a mainstay of fatalism, as hostile to divine revelation in the Scriptures,

relation of French eclectic philosophy and transcendentalism, see William Girard, *Du transcendentalisme considéré essentiellement dans sa definition et ses origines françaises*, in University of California "Publications in Modern Philology," IV (1916).

[1] *Elements of Psychology: included in a critical examination of Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding, and in additional pieces. By Victor Cousin. Translated from the French* (New York, 1861), p. 80 of Introduction and Notes by Caleb Henry.

[2] Murdock, *op. cit.*

[3] James Waddel Alexander and Albert Baldwin Dod [two Princeton professors], "Transcendentalism," *The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review*, Jan., 1839, pp. 37–101.

as a pantheist, and even as an atheist who denied the personality of God and the essential difference between right and wrong.

In his preface to the third edition (1841), Henry replied to his Princeton critics by charging them with having displayed superficial and insufficient knowledge both of Cousin and of the German idealists with whom they confused the French philosopher. In fact Cousin, insisted Henry, made freedom of the will a fundamental part of his system, essential to any conception of moral obligation. He taught the absolute difference between right and wrong, the eternal and immutable nature of moral distinctions, and had explicitly denied the charge of pantheism.[1]

The battle was on. Locke was attacked right and left. Dissatisfied with his compromising position on the problem of thoroughgoing materialism, disciples of that school in America (Dr. Thomas Cooper and Dr. Joseph Buchanan, for example) had long before refused to follow Locke when he implied that the physiological explanation of mentality was inadequate.[2] Moreover, men who formerly entertained the highest regard for him, had, for one reason or another, transferred their allegiance to the Scotch common-sense school. Jefferson himself represents this tendency, for he came to accept the doctrine of innate ideas, and, under the influence of his friend Dugald Stuart, the tenets of "realism."[3] Others rebelled at Locke's indictment of "enthusiasm." George Bancroft, thanking Emerson in 1836 for his kind words regarding the first volume of the *History of the United States*, declared that the early annals of Quaker Pennsylvania completely refuted Locke's outcry against "enthusiasm." His notable discussion in the first volume of the *History*, in which he contrasted Locke somewhat unfavorably with Fox and Penn, was symptomatic of the thought of the times.[4] Still others, hungry for consistency and a philosophy which resolved conflicts in a unified higher synthesis, repudiated Locke as a superficial philosopher who, like the typical Englishman, failed to

[1] [Cousin's] *Elements of Psychology* (tr. cited), pp. xiv ff. of Henry's Prefaces to 3d and 4th editions.

[2] Riley, *American Philosophy*, pp. 416, 426, 373–74, 382.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 278, 280.

[4] M. A. De Wolfe Howe, *The Life and Letters of George Bancroft* (New York, 1908), I, 223; George Bancroft, *History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the Continent* (New York, 1883), I, 561–62.

come to grips with ultimate problems, betrayed a lack of severe mental discipline, and made philosophy a welter of compromises.[1] There were also men who, convinced that the philosophy of Locke "bordered hard upon the inner temple of sensualism," and believing that it was but a gradual descent from sensualism to materialism and thence to deism and rank atheism, found in Cousin an antidote against Locke and the French atheists.[2]

The revolt against Locke aroused defense. Conservatives in religion and social outlook were alarmed at the spread of the intuitional philosophy. Bad enough was its association, in their eyes, with reform agitations of social questions and its menace to religious orthodoxy; but even worse was the possibility that it might beguile those who were guided by "enthusiasm" into endless strange cults unsettling to the authority of God, the past, and the present. As James Murdock suggested, the established philosophy of Locke had at least kept its followers from going off on dangerous tangents, for they could be counted on to examine everything and to hold fast to that which was proved. It also befitted men who by temperament and interest were distrustful of all that could not be put to the test of accepted conventions and cautious experiment.[3]

Of this group of conservative champions of Locke who still saw in him a bulwark against the new and daring intuitionalism, the best-known was Alexander H. Everett. Trained in law and diplomacy, he had exhibited a certain instability in both politics and thought. He embarrassed his brother, Edward Everett, by deserting Federalism for Democracy in 1813. He showed favor at times to the French Revolution. Yet he was an apologist, in a sense, for slavery, adhered to the conservative stake-in-society theory of economics and politics, and denied the perfectibility of human nature. In 1830 this well read scholar, who was at home in classical and contemporary literature as well as in modern philosophy, became editor of the *North American Review*, in which he had just published his first notable de-

[1] *The Works of Orestes A. Brownson*, I, 1 ff., II, 226.

[2] *The Methodist Quarterly Review*, XXIII, 336–54.

[3] James Murdock, D.D., *Sketches of Modern Philosophy, especially among the Germans* (Hartford, 1842), p. 12. See *The American Whig Review*, VII, 460–63, for a conservative's defense of Locke.

fense of Locke.[1] Francis Bowen, who for a time edited the same periodical, also taught logic, philosophy, and political economy at Harvard.[2] Even more persistently loyal to Locke was Andrews Norton, who in 1819 became Dexter Professor of Sacred Literature at the Harvard Divinity School and a notable apologist for a conservative, rationalistic type of Unitarian Christianity. This grave, erudite scholar, bold and acute in controversy, was later one of the chief critics of Emerson and the transcendentalists.[3] But the most uncompromising and tireless of all Locke's champions was the Reverend Frederick Beasley. Entering Princeton from a well-to-do North Carolina family, he became an Episcopalian clergyman shortly after his graduation in 1797. It was as professor of philosophy and provost of the University of Pennsylvania (1813–28) that Beasley, a forceful figure and proud of his old-fashioned thought and dress, exerted his greatest influence in the intellectual controversies of his time.[4] These men took a conservative or middle-of-the-road position on the great social questions of the day.

The "back to Locke" movement was really inaugurated in 1829, when Alexander Everett published in the *North American Review* a long, closely argued paper, "The History of Intellectual Philosophy." This paradoxical and pragmatic critic undertook to explain the reaction among leading intellectuals against the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. To Everett it seemed clear that the main reason for the about-face was that conservative critics of the French Revolution and its aftermath had mistakenly denounced the essay as the real foundation of all the mischief which even more superficial commentators had attributed to Voltaire and Rousseau. De Maistre,

[1] *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays of Alexander H. Everett* (Boston, 1845–46), *passim*; William Charvat, *The Origins of American Critical Thought, 1810–1835* (Philadelphia, 1936), pp. 182–85.

[2] Bowen later shifted his position, finally coming to support natural realism modified by Kantian idealism. See his *Modern Philosophy from Descartes to Schopenhauer and Hartmann* (New York, 1896), chap. 3.

[3] William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit . . .* (New York, 1865), VIII, 430. *The Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels* (Boston, 1837–44) is Norton's most important contribution to biblical scholarship. Norton's son, Charles Eliot Norton, always regarded himself as a disciple of Locke and Hume. (*Letters of Charles Eliot Norton* [Boston and New York, 1913], II, 364.)

[4] Sprague, *op. cit.*, V, 477–84.

for example, had branded Locke as an apostle of irreligion, immorality, impurity, and sedition — a strange indictment, Everett observed, for one who was a firm believer in revelation and whose life had been noted for its exemplary beauty. But reactionaries like de Maistre were not the only ones who had wrongly ascribed the French Revolution to Locke's teachings. Liberals, somewhat illogically anxious to shake off responsibility for most of the acts and opinions of the fathers of the Revolution which as a *fait accompli* they of course approved, shared in the conservative reaction against Locke's metaphysics. Cousin, and to a certain extent the Scotch school, represented this reaction of liberals.[1]

After weighing the philosophies of Locke, the Scotch school, and Kant, Everett decided in favor of the great English empiricist who in rebelling against obscurantism and mysticism had done so much to inaugurate modern liberal thought. German idealism appeared to this man of the world as an unsubstantial dream, whose appeal arose from its supposed essential connection with the existence of God and the immortality of the soul. The present hysteria, Everett thought, was to be explained by reference to actions and reactions in the history of thought. The protest of the restless, disturbed intuitionalists against the materialism which they wrongly associated with Locke was merely a reversion to "the Platonic visions of the childhood of the race."

In a review of a new edition of Lord King's *Life of Locke*, Everett subsequently pointed out even more explicitly that the materialists or the philosophers of selfishness, in reality found no foothold in Locke for the degrading theories they cherished. At the same time, he held up for the highest esteem — without entire justification — the great philosopher's precision of ideas and correct use of language, "an indispensable instrument for correct thinking."[2]

It was Francis Bowen, however, who, even more than Alexander Everett, admired Locke and his philosophical style, with its homely simplicity and its freedom from bizarre obscurantism and from dogmatism. What Bowen regarded as loyalty to American values and

[1] A. H. Everett, "History of Intellectual Philosophy," *North American Review*, XIV, 120.
[2] A. H. Everett, *Essays, second series* (Boston, 1846), pp. 381–451.

ideals led him, like Everett, to oppose the new fashion which abandoned plain English speech for "fantastic" German notions. Transcendentalism was, in his eyes, a kind of false, imported mixture of sublimated Fichtean atheism and the downright pantheism of Schelling. Moreover, in the transcendentalist reaction against Locke, the Harvard philosopher and historian detected the un-American tendency to divorce speculation from the everyday life of men.[1] Bowen wrote for the *Knickerbocker* a popular paper, in the form of an imaginary discourse between Locke and Newton, which defended the former against the common misunderstanding which attributed to his denial of innate ideas the denial also of the certainty of ideas themselves.[2]

An even more vigorous champion of "the great Mr. Locke" was the Reverend Frederick Beasley, who, like Bowen, resented the new tendency to borrow ideas from Europe and who regarded Locke as America's own philosopher. According to one of Beasley's friends, he could scarcely have shown greater warmth and zeal in Locke's defense had he been among his intimate and living associates. Indeed, Beasley went so far as to declare that Locke "never has been and never can be overthrown." Although he befriended him in his teachings and in his daily discussions, it was in *A Search for Truth in the Science of the Human Mind* (1822) that he mustered all his forces for the cause. Casting strictures on the Scotch school and on the French eclectics, Beasley exonerated his master from "the false and absurd charge of representative perception through mediate images."

Other students of philosophy also came to the defense of Locke, but we need not tarry long with them. Thomas C. Upham, of Bowdoin College, replied to Locke's critics by insisting that he had by no means supposed sensation to be the only source of knowledge. This rejoinder was needed, for transcendentalists had overlooked Locke's emphasis on reflection and his implication that there was also something like intuitive reason. What Upham chiefly valued in Locke, however, was his synthesis: Aristotle had seen the connection of the intellect with the material world, and had postulated the external origin of knowledge; Plato had directed attention chiefly to the

[1] Francis Bowen, "Locke and the Transcendentalists," *The Christian Examiner*, XXIII, 170 ff. See also Bowen's *Lowell Lectures* (Boston, 1849), p. 57.

[2] *The Knickerbocker*, VI, 415–19.

internal origin of thought; and Locke combined these two great views.[1]

An examination of a great number of commencement and other academic addresses, and of many popular handbooks, seems to indicate, however, that the Lockean philosophy was by no means completely undermined by the various attacks, many of which did not penetrate into the everyday channels of intellectual life.[2] It is, of course, impossible to determine finally the depth and persistence of the idealistic and eclectic attacks on Locke. There is evidence that they succeeded only in bringing about an increasing qualification and enrichment of the basic Lockean philosophy. No doubt American dependence on English thought was also lessened. But throughout later American thought, it appears certain that Locke's influence continued to be important, and that it did not die with the new emphasis on biology and the theory of organic evolution.

Subsequent developments in American philosophical and psychological thought reveal the tenacity of the ideas of the noted empiricist. In his widely read *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy* (1874), John Fiske maintained that the doctrine of evolution harmonized Locke's great view that all knowledge was due to experience, with the Leibnitz-Kantian view that the mind even at birth possesses definite tendencies.[3] In other ways, too, the Lockean empirical tradition was expressed in what have been regarded as characteristically American ideas. William James, according to his most authoritative biographer, belongs unquestionably to the British empirical school founded by

[1] Thomas C. Upham, *Elements of Mental Philosophy, embracing the two departments of the Intellect and the Sensibilities* (Portland, 1839), I, 5. See also *The Works of Charles Follen*, III, 99, 168. From the ranks of the American disciples of Francis Bacon, whose influence on American thought has never been adequately investigated, came still further support for Locke. Samuel Tyler, a member of the Maryland bar, in a learned dissertation on Bacon, regarded Locke as a true Baconian of the mind; and many others in defending Bacon likewise defended Locke, with whom in their minds he was associated. See Samuel Tyler, *A Discourse of the Baconian Philosophy* (Frederick City, Md., 1844), pp. 113 ff.

[2] For example, see Hon. Robert Strange, *An Address delivered before the two literary societies of the University of North Carolina, June, 1837* (Raleigh, 1837), pp. 8 ff.; Charles McCay, *A Lecture delivered to the Senior Class of the University of Georgia . . .* (Athens, 1842), pp. 3 ff.; Herman J. Groesbeck, *Address delivered at the second anniversary celebration of the Alpha Delta Phi Society of Miami University, Aug. 10, 1837* (Cincinnati, 1837), pp. 8 ff.

[3] John Fiske, *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy* (London, 1874), II, 161.

Locke. More than once James referred to "the good Locke" and his "dear old book," and rejoiced in his devotion to experimentalism, his common sense, and his hatred of obscure, misty ideas. Furthermore, as Professor Perry points out, the chapter on "conception" in James's *Principles of Psychology* is quite definitely founded on Locke — with his view of the *priority* and *pre-eminence* of particulars, James heartily agreed. Even James's own more original thinking, as distinguished from his inheritance from Locke, was characterized by a functional relationship between ideas and reality — a position not so alien to Locke as to his critics, by reason of the fact that Locke had more or less recognized practical motives in the acquisition of knowledge.[1]

Other American philosophers, too, in spite of non-Lockean influences on their thought, were not unaffected by the great empiricist so long regarded as America's particular master. In discussing the significance of Locke, John Dewey shows his own kinship with him. The philosophic empiricism initiated by Locke, Dewey writes, was designed to remove the burden which "blind custom, imposed authority and accidental association" had loaded on science and social obligation; and the best way to liberate man from this burden was "through a natural history of the origin and growth in the mind of ideas connected with objectionable beliefs and customs."[2] Even the idealist James Royce spoke well of Locke, while a contemporary philosopher, Frederick J. E. Woodbridge, pays great deference to him for having taught us that "we must go to our senses, not to our souls, if we are ever to enter into the realm of the mind."[3] Moreover, the persistence, in contemporary thought, of the impact of Locke was not confined to philosophy. Notwithstanding the biological emphasis in modern psychology, the influence of Locke is still a factor to be reckoned with.[4]

[1] Ralph Barton Perry, *The Thought and Character of William James* (Boston, 1935), I, 466, 544–47, II, 56, 74, 75, 449–50. For a discussion of the relation of James and his thinking to the conflicting interests of American life, see Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators* (New York, 1934), chap. 13.

[2] John Dewey, *Reconstruction in Philosophy* (New York, 1920), pp. 35, 82.

[3] *Contemporary American Philosophy — Personal Statements* (New York, 1830), II, 427 ff. Professor R. M. Wenley points out that in the case of another idealist, G. S. Morris, it was the ideas fathered by Locke, Milton, and Hoadley that set his perspective in secular affairs. (*The Life and Work of George Sylvester Morris* [New York, 1917], p. 105.)

[4] Edward Stevens Robinson, *Association Theory Today; an Essay in systematic psychology* (New York, 1932), *passim.*

Thus, in spite of the defects in his system of knowledge, in spite of all the attacks levied on him, there was something in the empirical, middle-of-the-road, common-sense position taken by Locke which persisted in the main streams of American philosophy. May it not be that the explanation is partly to be found in the consideration that such a philosophy could best perform the work America needed done? Could it not break down the cleavage between speculation and everyday life, and safeguard our inherited, liberal, seventeenth-century English tradition from the "fantastic," imported, French and German notions, supposedly so alien to our Anglo-American civilization?

In the fields of political and economic theory, in the first seventy-five years of our national experience, the ideas of Locke were of peculiar importance — an importance not to be obscured by the varying interpretations given them. Locke's *Treatises of Civil Government*, published the same year (1690) as the famous *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, was of course even more influential during the years of revolution than the philosophical and religious treatises. There is abundant evidence that his political theories did not die after the Revolution had become history. There was much work for them to do. True, the *Treatises of Civil Government* was seldom cited in the Constitutional Convention of 1787;[1] but the cardinal doctrine that the people in themselves constitute a power superior to the government, that government may be dissolved without affecting civil society, had great weight in the minds of the men assembled in 1787 at Philadelphia to frame a new constitution, and was also a powerful factor in the fundamental assumptions of those who made and revised state constitutions.

Statesmen continued, during the early republic, to defer to Locke's *Treatises*. Jefferson, who had declared that "Locke's little book on Government is perfect as far as it goes," insisted that it be required reading for law students at the University of Virginia, where in general there were to be no requirements.[2] Madison agreed, thinking

[1] Max Farrand (ed.), *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (New Haven, 1911), I, 437. Luther Martin cited Locke to prove that individuals, under primitive conditions, are equally free and independent, and that the case was the same with states until they surrendered their equal authority.

[2] *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* ("Library Edition"; Washington, 1903), VIII, 31.

that Locke was admirably suited to impress young minds with the right of nations to establish their own governments and to inspire a love of free ones.[1] John Quincy Adams, when the question of the separation of powers was uppermost in the discussions of Congress, went straight to Locke rather than to Montesquieu, for he regarded the English thinker as the true originator of the theory.[2] Charles Sumner and many less learned statesmen quoted Locke in their public speeches during the slavery controversy; and he was remembered during every contest between human and property rights and interests.[3] Moreover, Locke's doctrine of the right of revolution figured largely in popular thought as reflected in hundreds of election sermons, academic addresses, and Fourth of July orations.

Part of the secret of much of Locke's influence on public thought lies in the very inconsistency of his political theories. In the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* he had repudiated the theory of innate ideas; yet in his *Treatises of Civil Government* he assumed as innate ideas both the state of nature and the law of reason — conceptions which he could not have arrived at empirically. This incongruity, it will be recalled, was partly responsible for the repudiation of his empiricism by social radicals who, in a conflict between the "innate truths" of equality and the practical lessons of inequality, had no hesitancy in choosing the former. Forced thus to repudiate Locke's psychology and philosophy and aware that their leading defenders were social conservatives, radicals also discovered that Locke's political doctrines, once regarded as bold and even revolutionary, could be used as a bulwark for the *status quo* as well as for challenging it. Likewise, exponents of laissez faire and of the sanctity of private property found comfort in Locke's individualism — in his natural rights of life, liberty, and property. Hence it was that divergent interests appealed to contradictory doctrines and implications in Locke's political thought.

It will be remembered that Locke not only refuted the doctrine of absolute monarchy, but also justified the right of revolution when a

[1] *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison* (Philadelphia, 1867), III, 481.

[2] *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* (Philadelphia), IX (1876), 226.

[3] For Locke's early influence on American thought regarding slavery, see Mary Stoughton Locke, *Anti-Slavery in America from the Introduction of African Slaves to the Prohibition of the Slave Trade* (Boston, 1901), p. 19.

government wilfully and over a considerable period of time violated the contract with civil society. He did not, however, indicate precisely how the people were to repossess themselves of the government, or just how it was to be determined that the contract had been broken.[1] These questions, he implied, must be left to common sense, to the practical judgment of the majority. There could be no objective test. But clearly Locke denied the right of minorities to make a revolution, although revolutions (at least in their initial stage) are frequently, if indeed not always, minority movements. He was equally outspoken against "seditious factions." Thus hedged about and restricted, the right of revolution was stated and justified.[2]

Still other aspects of Locke's thought appealed to American liberals and radicals in the first half century of the republic. He stoutly adhered to the law of nature and reason, by which he meant "the law of good will, mutual assistance, and preservation," or, in other words, the sacred rights of life, liberty, and property. Under primitive conditions this law of nature or reason had, with some exceptions, governed men's relations. To avoid the confusion and awkwardness of exceptions, men had contracted with each other to form civil society and to delegate to government the single natural right of enforcing "the law of good will, mutual assistance, and preservation." Thus Locke's political philosophy was one of individualism. In the early days of the republic the principle of individualism best served the interests of radicals, for their fight was against the domination of favored classes and centralized government. Hence Locke's doctrine was in many respects as democratic in its implications as his theory of the plasticity of human nature, which, as we have seen, was beloved by antifederalists and social radicals.

An examination of more than four hundred election sermons, academic addresses, and Fourth of July orations written during the three-quarters of a century after the American Revolution, indicates that various interests appealed to these doctrines of Locke to support their causes. Church leaders, concerned over the rapid secularization of life, insisted that religion was an indispensable factor in the proper

[1] John Locke, *Of Civil Government. Two Treatises* (London and New York, 1924), chap. 19.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 223.

working of any government founded, as ours was, on the Lockean concept of the law of nature and contract. What could oaths taken by magistrates and people to obey their obligations in the contractual relation mean unless these oaths had the sanction of religion? This question was asked by the Reverend Thomas Reese, a Presbyterian minister of Salem, South Carolina, in an essay written in 1788,[1] and it was a very common argument on the part of religious leaders who were bidding for support for the interest they represented.

Critics of aristocratic tendencies in American life likewise appealed to "the great Mr. Locke." If his heritage of the consent of the governed was to be a thing of substance, then such antidemocratic groups as the Society of the Cincinnati must, it was urged, be restrained from promoting aristocracy and discord — behavior which would fatally wound civil liberty.[2] During the debates in the Virginia Constitutional Convention in 1829, the liberals or reformers, who were contending for an enlarged suffrage and a redistribution of representation to weaken the tidewater aristocracy, cited Locke and the doctrine of natural law in an effort to promote their cause. Locke taught that all government was based on consent, and an extension of political democracy in Virginia was necessary, they held, if this principle was to be realized in fact.[3]

In other contests for an extension of suffrage, appeals were made to the doctrine of natural rights, the right of revolution, and similar teachings of Locke. The literature of the Dorr Rebellion, which came to a head in Rhode Island in 1842, is a case in point. As early as 1833 the labor leader, Seth Luther, told a Providence audience that every page in history was stained with blood shed in obtaining acknowledgment of the right of self-government, or in acquiring the exercise of it, or in defending it from encroachment. "In all cases, or nearly all, the rights of man have been wrested from the grasp of power, *vie et armis*, by force and arms. The people have been compelled to take by force that which has been withheld from them by force, to wit: the right to govern

[1] Rev. Thomas Reese, A.M., *An Essay on the Influence of Religion in Civil Society* (Charleston, S.C., 1788), pp. 20, 32.

[2] [Aedanus Burke] *Considerations on the Society or Order of Cincinnati* (Hartford, 1783), p. 10.

[3] Benjamin Fletcher Wright, *American Interpretation of Natural Law*, pp. 203 ff.

themselves, by laws made by themselves." [1] In ringing words which appealed to the class consciousness of Rhode Island's disenfranchised thousands, Luther declared that the existing state government, by depriving men of their natural rights, was violating the great tradition of English liberty and completely repudiating the doctrine of the consent of the governed — a doctrine hallowed by the Declaration of Independence.

In other contests between democracy and privilege the natural-rights philosophy and the revolutionary theories of Locke were mustered for service. The Equal Rights Party, or Locofocos, declared in 1836 that the true foundation of republican government is the equal right of every citizen in his person and property, and in their management, and asserted, in the spirit and almost the words of Locke, that the rightful power of all legislation is "to declare and enforce only our natural rights and duties, and is to take none of them from us." Leader after leader appealed as a precedent to the principles of 1776, to the Declaration of Independence. "We have departed, and are continually departing from the simplicity of those principles, which were the price of our father's blood." [2]

In economics no less than in political matters Locke's ideas continued to live because of their usefulness to developing interests. The Constitution, declared John Hunt, had compromised the principles of natural rights by entrenching wealth in high places. Man in America, as man in the Old World, was still a slave, must continue to be a slave until he had freed himself from the despotism of money, until he could enjoy the fruits of his labor from which he was at present stripped by "swaggering pretensions to exclusive privileges." Wall Street must cease governing our legislative lobbies; monopolies must be exterminated; the speculator and profiteer, curbed. Then, and not till then, declared this leader of the proletariat, would the full implications of

[1] Seth Luther, *An Address on the Right of Free Suffrage* (Providence, 1833), pp. 6–7. See also Joseph S. Pitman, *Report of the Trial of Thomas Wilson Dorr* (Boston, 1844), pp. 79 ff.; *To the Members of the General Assembly of Rhode-Island* [n.p., n.d.], pp. 13–14 (for a Lockean but anti-Dorr interpretation of the formation of the Commonwealth of Rhode Island); *Address to the People of Rhode Island, March, 1834* (Providence, 1834), *passim*; Elisha R. Potter, *Considerations on the Questions of the Adoption of a Constitution and Extension of Suffrage in Rhode Island* (Boston, 1842), *passim*.

[2] F. Byrdsall, *The History of the Loco-Foco or Equal Rights Party* (New York, 1842), p. 62.

the rights of man and the principles of the Declaration of Independence be realized.[1]

The same appeals to natural rights, and even to the right of revolution, emerged in the arguments of the more militant abolitionists. No sooner was the Revolution over than many men opposed to slavery held that the existence of that institution was a violation of all the rights for which the war had been fought. Dr. George Buchanan, in a Fourth of July oration in Baltimore in 1791, declared that slavery was a cruel, oppressive, and wanton abuse of the rights of man, that the fires of liberty might well be kindled among the slaves, and that they might rally under the standard of freedom and bring devastation and ruin on the country.[2] "Alas," lamented Samuel Miller in speaking of slavery in a sermon delivered before the Tammany Society on July 4, 1793, "that we should so soon forget the principles, upon which our wonderful revolution was founded!" [3] This note was struck again and again. Slavery, asserted the Reverend P. S. Cleland in a Fourth of July sermon at Greenwood, Indiana, in 1841, was diametrically opposed to the self-evident principles of the Declaration of Independence.

> If slavery is right, the axioms set forth in that declaration as our apology to the world, for resisting unto blood, the oppressions of Great Britain, are glaringly false; the American Revolution was but a successful rebellion; and our fathers should be regarded as a band of rebels, engaged in unlawful resistance against the lawful tyranny of George III and his parliament. If the principles of the Declaration were fully adopted, we should no longer be guilty of contradicting our principles by our practice.[4]

Other Fourth of July orators reproduced in detail the contract theory of the origin of government and the natural-rights philosophy, in a more or less orthodox Lockean fashion. Sometimes Locke and other revolutionary leaders or theorists of seventeenth-century England

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 147 ff.

[2] George Buchanan, M.D., *An Oration Upon the Moral and Political Evil of Slavery* (Baltimore, 1793), pp. 13, 17.

[3] Samuel Miller, A.M., *A Sermon, Preached in New-York, July 4th, 1793 . . . at the Request of the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order* (New York [1793]), pp. 27–28.

[4] Rev. P. S. Cleland, *A Sermon, delivered, Sabbath, July 4, 1841, in the Presbyterian Church, Greenwood, Indiana* (Greenwood, 1841), pp. 10, 13.

were specifically mentioned, but in any case their ideas were expressed with illuminating reiteration.[1]

In the tension occasioned by slavery, particularly at the time of the fugitive slave law, some of the speakers even went to the length of advocating the right of revolution as perhaps the only means by which the free North could uproot the South's peculiar institution. "If the exigency is imminent, the perversion total, and other redress impossible, we must admit the desperate and fearful remedy of Revolution," declared the Reverend Samuel C. Bartlett at Manchester, New Hampshire, in 1853. "I need not argue the case that is so powerfully put in the immortal Declaration of Independence."[2] But this was only one among dozens of such statements. Perhaps the most typical, but by no means the most thoroughgoing, of these expressions of the right of revolution is to be found in a leaflet, bearing the title "Revolution the only Remedy for Slavery," issued by the American Anti-Slavery Society.[3] For the most drastic statements one must turn to the literature of the "higher law" doctrine and to radical abolitionists' justification of John Brown's attack on Harper's Ferry. The sermons of Gilbert Haven, a prominent Methodist leader, and the speeches and writings of such people as Wendell Phillips and Mrs. Child, contain unequivocal assertions of the right of revolution.[4] The transcendent-

[1] The following are representative speeches: Rev. Samuel C. Bartlett, *The Duty and the Limitations of Civil Obedience* (Manchester, N.H., 1853), pp. 4, 15–18; C. F. Adams, *An Oration . . . July 4, 1860* (Fall River, 1860), p. 20; C. W., *My Country; as She was in 1776: as she is in 1846. An Address delivered in Coventry, R.I., July 4, 1846* (Providence, 1846), pp. 5, 8–9; Oliver Dyer, *Phonographic Report of the Proceedings of the National Free Soil Convention at Buffalo, New York, August 9th and 10th, 1848* (Buffalo, 1848), pp. 7–9; "The Identity of the Liberal Party of 1846 with the Liberty Party of 1776" (Huntington Library, No. 52377); J. T. Tucker, *The Citizen and the Commonwealth. A Discourse delivered in the First Congregational Church in Holliston, Mass. . . . April 10, 1851* (Holliston, 1851), pp. 12–13.

[2] Rev. Samuel C. Bartlett, *The Duty and Limitations of Civil Obedience*, p. 16.

[3] *Anti-Slavery Tracts*, No. 7, "Revolution the Only Remedy for Slavery" [n.p., n.d.].

[4] Some, admitting the theoretical right of resistance and revolution, nevertheless advised submission to "the ordinance of man for the Lord's sake," as, for example, Nathaniel Bouton, *The Good Land in Which We live. A Discourse Preached at Concord, N.H., on the Day of Public Thanksgiving, Nov. 28, 1850* (Concord, 1850), pp. 17, 26. Cf. *Writings of Thomas Wentworth Higginson* (Cambridge, 1899), p. 269; Lysander Spooner, *The Unconstitutionality of Slavery* (Boston, 1846), pp. 10–13, 36 ff.; *John Brown's Expedition Reviewed in a Letter from Rev. Theodore Parker, at Rome, to Francis Jackson, Boston* (Boston, 1860), pp. 4 ff.; Gilbert Haven, *National Sermons* (Boston, 1869), pp. 13 ff.; L. Maria Child, *The Duty of Disobedience to the Fugitive Slave Act* (Boston, 1860), pp. 3 ff.

alist, Theodore Parker, found Locke's theory of the right of revolution as useful to his scheme of values as he found his empirical psychology unserviceable. And, after the Civil War, abolitionists, in their advocacy of equal rights for the Negro, appealed to Locke more than once.[1]

If, however, the slavery controversy resulted, on the one hand, in an appeal by the abolitionists to the natural-rights philosophy of Locke, on the other it stimulated exponents of slavery to redefine natural rights in such a way as to make slavery justifiable, or it led to a complete repudiation of the natural-rights philosophy itself. J. K. Paulding, novelist, satirist, and naval official, endeavored to reconcile slavery with natural-rights theories.[2] President Dew, of William and Mary College, and Albert Bledsoe, a mathematical philosopher at the University of Virginia, undertook the same task. Discarding the traditional theory of individual natural rights, Bledsoe elaborated an idea of natural law which was based on public good and which definitely restricted individual liberty. The greatest number of proslavery apologists, however, rejected the theory of natural rights. They insisted that any observation of the facts of nature was an obvious refutation of the doctrine, for which they substituted the historical or organic conceptions of social development.[3] Thus, interest led southern intellectuals to try their hand at refuting the natural-rights philosophy of Locke which, when put to work by radical abolitionists, threatened the institution of slavery.

In their onslaught the apologists for slavery were aided by conservative Northerners who for one reason or another had no liking for the natural-rights philosophy. No doubt many responded to new currents of thought, particularly the theories of Burke, the utilitarianism of Bentham, and the ideas of the German historical school, whose leader, Savigny, exerted considerable influence on American intellectuals. But, at the same time, it is also true that these men were usually conservative by temperament and fearful lest extreme democratic tendencies should jeopardize the established rule of the wise,

[1] *Charles Sumner: His Complete Works* ("Statesman Edition"; Boston, 1900), III, 58, VI, 164, XII, 159, XIII, 156, 300.

[2] J. K. Paulding, *Slavery in the United States* (New York, 1863), pp. 42 ff.

[3] Albert Taylor Bledsoe, *Is Davis a Traitor?* (Baltimore, 1866), pp. 3–43, 142–43. For an excellent discussion of the proslavery criticism of the natural-rights philosophy, see Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 216 ff.

the good, and the well-to-do. Without completely renouncing all of Locke's political philosophy, John Quincy Adams in 1842 subjected the doctrine of the social compact to severe criticism. Appealing to historical facts, Adams demonstrated that the constitution of Massachusetts had been framed and adopted, not by all the citizens, but by only a certain portion, and that therefore the commonwealth could in no sense be thought of as democratic.[1] Another New Englander, Dr. Alexander H. Vinton, rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston, in his election sermon of 1848 criticized Locke's theory and concluded that the checks which we had established in our constitutional framework might not be adequate to protect order, duty, proprieties, and established values generally, against radical interpretations of the doctrine of natural rights.[2]

In conservative hands Locke's doctrine of the right of revolution was also qualified, and even denied, when established interests seemed to be threatened. A study of more than a hundred Fourth of July orations and sermons emanating from groups specifically devoted to the existing economic order, enables us for the first time to understand the reasons advanced for whittling away the doctrine of the right of revolution.[3] It is important, in analyzing this fugitive literature, to show the connection between the arguments, on the one hand, and, on the other, the class background, training, and position in society of the authors, as well as the specific occasions of the addresses. When this is done, it very frequently becomes clear that idea and interest were fairly obviously and directly related.

In the years following the conclusion of peace with England in 1783, the Revolution was interpreted in the majority of Fourth of July orations in such a way as to temper the abstract right of revolution itself. Economic depression reminded everyone of the sacrifices which the Revolution had cost, and at least until 1786 times remained hard. It was therefore natural for ministers and orators to insist that the men of '76 had appealed to the sword only after every other re-

[1] John Quincy Adams, *The Social Compact, Exemplified in the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts* (Providence, 1842), pp. 8 ff.

[2] Dr. Alexander H. Vinton, *The Religious Theory of Civil Government* . . . (Boston, 1848), pp. 15 ff.

[3] In a subsequent study a detailed consideration of this literature will substantiate the analysis that follows.

course had been tried, and that the right of revolution had been resorted to most reluctantly.[1] Since society was torn by factions, it was also desirable for orators and ministers to insist that the Revolution had been carried out by an overwhelming majority[2] — Locke had made that a condition of a justifiable revolution. Little or nothing is to be found in the Fourth of July orations regarding the Tory opposition. And, save for avowed radicals (who were much less frequently called on to make addresses that found their way into print), little is said of the social changes and democratic upheaval which were unmistakably a part of the Revolution. Following Locke, the typical Fourth of July orator insisted that civil society had been in no way affected by the long years of the struggle. Such an attitude would obviously tend to counteract antifederalist restlessness and the rumblings of agrarian revolts in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

It was this belief that the American Revolution had been political and not social that caused preachers and orators to contrast at great length the American revolt against England and the French Revolution. With unceasing reiteration conservatives, taking their cue no doubt from Burke, denounced the anarchy, atheism, and violence of the events taking place in France, in comparison with what they insisted was the orderly, calm, and virtually bloodless procedure of the men of '76. Fear of enthusiasm for the social principles of the French Revolution led a great number of orators and preachers to paint the French Revolution and its aftermath in the blackest possible terms. Long after France had achieved relative stability Americans made her revolution a warning against a similar occurrence here.[3] And, although

[1] David Osgood, A.M., *Reflections on the goodness of God in supporting the People of the United States through the late war* (Boston, 1784), pp. 27–31.

[2] *Idem, A Discourse delivered February 19, 1795* (Boston, 1795), p. 20; James P. Puglia, *The Federal Politician* (Philadelphia, 1795), pp. 159–62.

[3] Examples are John Wells, Esq., *An Oration, delivered on the Fourth of July, 1798, at St. Pauls Church* (New York, 1798), p. 7, and John Lowell, *An Oration, pronounced July 4, 1799, at the Request of the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston* (Boston, 1799), pp. 6 ff. *The Origin and Principles of the American Revolution, compared with the Origin and Principles of the French Revolution; Translated from the German of Gentz by an American Gentleman* [J. Q. Adams] no doubt supplied much of the material for these arguments. The contrasts continued, as, for instance, in Rev. John Gunnison, *The Nation's Progress, or Licentiousness and Ruin* . . . (Amesbury, 1836), p. 5, and Henry B. Stanton, *Ultraists, Conservatives, Reformers* (Utica, 1850), pp. 15 ff.

they had greeted with enthusiasm the Spanish American revolutions, it became the thing to contrast the anarchy and chaos in the lands to the south of us with our own orderly way of winning independence.[1]

Close scrutiny of the Fourth of July orations and election sermons indicates that it was when the established order at home was overtly threatened by such insurrections as that led by Daniel Shays in 1785 and by the Whiskey Boys a few years later, that clergymen, lawyers, and public men most carefully defined the right of revolution and hedged it about with heavy qualifications. In identifying the Shays affair and the Whiskey revolt with insurrection, they were following Locke in his condemnation of minority factions and seditious riotings. Certainly the general tendency of the orations and sermons during these crises — the conservatives were far more articulate than the radicals — was to make inroads on the theory of the right of revolution.[2] This was notably true during the Dorr War in Rhode Island in 1842, and after the suppression of slave insurrections.[3]

In the forgotten literature emanating from conservative and even liberal sources, other factors and interests entered into the qualification of the right of revolution. Pious ministers declared that happiness depends, not on the form of government, but on individual righteousness.[4] Expounders of the constitution insisted that our form

[1] For example, Henry W. Hilliard, *The Spirit of Liberty, An Oration* (Montgomery, Ala., 1860), p. 19.

[2] Rev. Joseph Lyman, *A Sermon preached before His Excellency James Bowdoin, Esq. . . . May 30, 1787* (Boston, 1787), *passim*; Jonathan Jackson, *Thoughts upon the Political Situation* (Worcester, 1788), pp. 50 ff.; David Daggett, *An Oration, New Haven, July 4, 1787* (New Haven, 1787), p. 14; Elizur Goodrich, *The Principles of civil Union and Happiness considered and Recommended, A Sermon* (Hartford, 1787), pp. 22 ff.; William White, D.D., *A Sermon on the Reciprocal Influence of Civil Policy and Religious Duty* (Philadelphia, 1795), p. 30; John M'Knight, D.D., *The Divine Goodness to the United States of America* (New York, 1795), pp. 14–15; Samuel Kendall, *A Sermon on the day of National Thanksgiving, Feb. 19, 1795* (Boston, 1795), p. 23; John Murray, *The Substance of a Thanksgiving Sermon* (Boston, 1795), pp. 19 ff.

[3] Elisha Potter, *Considerations on the Questions of the Adoption of a Constitution and Extension of Suffrage in Rhode Island* (Boston, 1842), pp. 6 ff.; Rev. Mark Tucker, D.D., *The Deliverance of Rhode Island . . .* (Providence, 1842), pp. 7 ff.; John Robert Godley, *Letters from America* (London, 1844), II, 208; Joseph S. Pitman, *Report of the Trial of Thomas Wilson Dorr . . .* (Boston, 1844), pp. 79 ff.; William G. Goddard, *An Address to the People of Rhode Island . . .* (Providence, 1843), pp. 27 ff.; *An Address to the People of Rhode Island, from the Convention Assembled at Providence . . .* (Providence, 1834).

[4] Miller, *A Sermon, . . . July 4, 1793*, p. 14.

of government made further appeal to revolution entirely unnecessary, or even absolutely criminal. Some observed that the American government was a contract, not between governors and governed, but between the governed themselves.[1] In such a government of laws, in such a popular and democratic type of polity, revolution had no place. Others observed that the federal system, by allocating considerable power to the states, prevented encroachments on the part of central authority: nullification was always a remedy when things went too far in the direction of consolidation. Still others maintained that the frequency of elections, the independence of our judiciary, and the possibility of easily amending the Constitution, rendered revolution needless.[2] In the first decades of the nation's history it seems clear that all these arguments were prominent because of the general fear that the federal experiment might not prove successful, and that chaos and economic backsliding might replace the newly established central authority and the prosperity associated with it.

As time went on, other arguments, taken from dominant currents of thought, were mustered for service against the particular theory of Locke which was now increasingly uncongenial to controlling interests that favored the existing order. No idea appealed to Americans in the first half of the nineteenth century more than the doctrine of progress; what had been a pleasant theory in Europe seemed to be a patent fact in the rapidly expanding and developing civilization of the New World. Samuel Tyler, a member of the Maryland bar, declared, in an essay (1844), that divine wisdom had decreed that restraints on man were to be thrown off, not all at once, but separately as he advanced in mental and moral improvement.[3] Disciples of science

[1] Joseph Lathrop, A.M., *A Sermon, Preached in the First Parish Church in West Springfield, Dec. 14, 1787* (Springfield, 1787), p. 8.

[2] Abel Holmes, A.M., *A Sermon on the Freedom and Happiness of America . . .* (Boston, 1795), pp. 10–11; Thomas Brockway, A.M., *America Saved, A Thanksgiving Sermon, Preached in Lebanon* (Hartford, 1784?), pp. 21 ff.; *Andrew Lee's Election Sermon* (Hartford, 1795), p. 20; Mathew Carey, *Information to Europeans who are disposed to migrate to the United States* (Philadelphia, 1790), p. 11; John A. M'Clung, *Oration, delivered at Lexington, Kentucky, on the 22d of February, 1844* (Maysville, Ky., 1844), p. 19; Nathaniel Chipman, *Sketches of the Principles of Government* (Rutland, Vt., 1793), p. 291; Samuel Kendal, *A Sermon, delivered on the day of National Thanksgiving* (Boston, 1795), p. 19; *Speeches of Mr. [Silas] Wood of New York, on the Proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States* (Washington, 1826), pp. 6 ff.

[3] Tyler, *A Discourse*, pp. 2 ff.

quoted both Bacon and Newton to the same effect. The marvelous order governing the universe seemed to deny the idea of revolution.

> In the constitution of the material universe we have not failed to discover proofs of the most perfect order. From the beauties of proportion, and the harmonies of arrangement, and the mutual adaptations existing between its diversified parts, and between each part and the whole, arises the inference, that to warrant the introduction of a new principle into its operations would require a new modeling of the entire whole.[1]

It was this faith in order, plan, development within an existing framework, that led sensitive men and women to look to reform, rather than to revolution, as a remedy for existing abuses. "Let us remember," Noah Webster had admonished in 1798, "that force never makes a convert; that no amelioration of society can be wrought by violence; and that an attempt to reform men by compulsion must produce more calamities than benefits."[2] As reform got under way in the first decades of the nineteenth century, revolution was pushed more and more into the background. "A prudent man," the Reverend Joseph McKean pointed out in his election sermon before the governor of Massachusetts in 1800, "will not set fire to his house, and thereby endanger the lives of his family, because some parts are not so perfectly convenient, or some of its proportions not so agreeable to the eye, as they might be made in a new edifice."[3] This refrain became a familiar one, and no doubt tended to help substitute the doctrine of gradualism for that of revolution.[4] Although we meet with this argument in the literature of all reform movements, it was, as might be expected, especially evident in that of the peace movement.[5]

Two circumstances help to explain the growing reliance on reform as a substitute for revolution. In the first place, as a result of faith in

[1] Amos Dean, A.M., *Address delivered before the Albany Institute, April 3, 1833* (Albany, 1833), p. 1.

[2] Noah Webster, Jun., *An Oration Pronounced before the Citizens of New-Haven on the Anniversary of the Independence of the United States, July 4th. 1798* (New Haven [1798]), p. 13.

[3] Joseph McKean, A.M., *A Sermon, May 28, 1800, being the Day of General Election* (Boston, 1800), p. 24.

[4] *The Works of Orestes A. Brownson*, XIV, 33–34; Byrdsall, *op. cit.*, p. 74 *et passim.*

[5] George E. Ellis, *An Oration delivered at Charlestown, Massachusetts, on the 17th of June, 1841* (Boston, 1841), p. 69; Merle Curti, *The American Peace Crusade, 1815–1861* (Durham, N.C., 1929), pp. 52–53.

reason and enlightenment, sponsors of public schools spread the word that mass education, by raising the general level of intelligence, would remedy social abuses which might otherwise result in revolution.[1] In the second place, it was generally believed that the existence of free lands provided a safety valve for discontent. Even though this belief may not have been well grounded, it must nevertheless have tended to make people think less in terms of revolution and more in terms of education and gradual reform as possible means of social amelioration.[2] Occasionally, fear was expressed that, once free lands were exhausted, proletarian discontent might lead to a reign of terror.[3] This fear was particularly strong in the minds of Southerners who were horrified at Fourierism and other radical social and economic doctrines, and who looked with dismay on the establishment in Paris of national workshops during the revolutionary days of 1848.[4]

At the same time that these forces were diminishing the once generally cherished idea of the right of revolution, a still more powerful force was at work with similar effect, for, as an examination of Fourth of July orations clearly indicates, the tradition of the Revolution gave way before the spirit of nationalism and patriotism.[5] Our revolution was regarded solely as the instrument by which our nationalism had come into existence. Once the historic mission of revolution had been fulfilled, once we were a nation, there could no longer be any use for revolution. It might even jeopardize the dearly bought nationalism which had not yet been consolidated.

In 1861, when the southern states determined to embark on their separate path as a new nation, they chiefly justified their action by

[1] Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators*, pp. 79–81, 191.

[2] Henry Duhring, *Remarks on the United States of America, with regard to the Actual State of Europe* (London, 1833), p. 23; Edward D. Barber, *An Oration, delivered before the Democrats of Washington County, at Montpelier, on the Fourth of July, 1839* (Montpelier, 1839), pp. 15–18.

[3] George Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All! or, Slaves without Masters* (Richmond, 1857), p. 61.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. xiv, 54–55; *Addresses, delivered on Thursday, Dec. 18, 1851, on the occasion of the inauguration of the Rev. Robert L. Stanton, as President of Oakland College, Mississippi* (New Orleans, 1852), p. 17; B. J. Barbour, of Orange County, Virginia, *An Address delivered before the Literary Societies of the Virginia Military Institute, at Lexington, on the 4th of July, 1854* (Richmond, 1854), p. 8.

[5] Good examples are P. I. Vanpelt, A.M., *The Goodness of God, to be Praised by Men. A Discourse delivered on the Fourth of July* (New York, 1812), and T. S. Grimké, *Oration on . . . the 4th of July, [1833]* (Charleston, 1833), pp. 19 ff.

the doctrine of the right of secession, rather than by that of revolution. The idea of revolution was now in such bad odor that relatively few appealed to "the great Mr. Locke," whose theory of revolution had once done such good service.[1] Some Northerners sought, on the one hand, to identify secession with revolution and to condemn it as such, but, on the other, denied that it was at all analogous to what happened in 1776.

Thus it was that, after the Revolution, various growing interests, particularly when challenged by competing ones, led to the qualification of Locke's idea of the right of revolution. In spite of the radicalism of much of Locke's political thought in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is plain that he himself would in general have approved of the qualifications of the natural-rights philosophy and of the doctrine of the right of revolution, which had been made in order functionally to serve dominant interests in the existing pattern of political and social arrangements. For in considerable part the sanctity of property rights was to Locke the chief reason and justification for the substitution of civil society and government for the original state of nature.[2] It was likewise the sanctity of property rights which in his mind largely warranted men in making a revolution against a government jeopardizing them.[3] Therefore he would have discountenanced attempts to apply his theory of the right of revolution to lend validity to movements to abridge or annihilate property rights.

Locke's belief that the preservation of property was the chief end

[1] For a treatment making a clear distinction between the right of revolution and the right of secession, see John Randolph Tucker, *An Address delivered before the Society of Alumni of the University of Virginia* (Richmond, 1851), p. 60. For advocates of the appeal to the right of revolution, both North and South, see Dwight Lowell Dumond, *Southern Editorials on Secession* (New York, 1931), pp. 167–68; T. L. Nichols, *Forty Years of American Life* (2d ed.; London, 1874), pp. 327–38; *Union, Slavery, Secession: Letter from Governor R. K. Call, of Florida, to John S. Littell, of Germantown, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1861), pp. 25–27; Jesse T. Carpenter, *The South as a Conscious Minority* (New York, 1930), pp. 194–200; *State Sovereignty and the Doctrine of Coercion, by the Hon. William D. Porter, together with a Letter from Hon. J. K. Paulding, former Secretary of the Navy. The Right to Secede by States* (1860 Tract Association, Tract No. 2 [n.p., n.d.]), pp. 26–27. An interesting discussion of the Civil War as a "civil revolution of states" is that of Henry A. Wise in his *Seven Decades of the Union* (Philadelphia, 1881), pp. 252 ff.

[2] *Of Civil Government. Two Treatises*, pp. 129 ff., 228 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 224 ff.

of government had even more important social implications.[1] In declaring that whatsoever a person "hath mixed his labor with and joined it to something that is his own" was a sacred right, to be protected by government, Locke laid the foundations of the concept of economic laissez faire as well as of the theory that property, being a crystallization of personal achievement, is never to be lightly dissociated from private ownership. Although Locke himself defined property broadly and probably did not intend to give it the general and sweeping sanctity with which it was subsequently endowed,[2] his doctrine became the gospel of liberty and property, in close association. For this development the march of events, which he could not have foreseen, must be chiefly blamed.[3]

It is hardly defensible to attach too much weight to Locke's justification of property rights as he understood them, nor to assume that without his ideas on this subject events in nineteenth-century America would have shaped themselves in any fundamentally different way. Yet it is pertinent to note that Locke's theories of property influenced the thoughts and actions of the framers of the Constitution and the advocates of the stake-in-society theory of economics during the Jacksonian period. In other words, advocates of property rights found work for Locke's ideas. When Chancellor Kent was particularly concerned over the dangers to property which he feared the movement for an extension of suffrage involved, he declared, "Give me the writings of Addison and Locke."[4] It is only necessary to examine the writings of such Federalists as Fisher Ames and such Whigs as Daniel Webster, to note the similarity between their conceptions of property rights, individualism, and laissez faire, and the teachings of Locke. In the debates of the state constitutional conventions which convened to discuss the enlargement of the suffrage, one finds clearly stated the Lockean-Federalist principle that "the great and chief end therefore of men's uniting into commonwealths, and putting them-

[1] For an excellent discussion of the conservative social implications of Locke's political theory for the nineteenth century, see C. E. Vaughan, *Studies in the History of Political Philosophy before and after Rousseau* (Manchester, 1925), pp. 168 ff.

[2] Larkin, *Property in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 145 ff.

[3] This idea is elaborated by Walton H. Hamilton, in an article (*Yale Law Journal*, XLI, 864 ff.) in which he defends Locke against some of the criticisms made by Larkin, *op. cit.*

[4] William Kent, *Memoirs and Letters of James Kent, LL.D.* (Boston, 1898), p. 219.

selves under governments, is the preservation of their property." [1] Locke was quoted in those conventions, to the effect that men possessed of property must have power over those who were not.

In a pioneer society, with an abundance of free lands, the individualistic interpretations of the functions of government were not without their progressive, liberal connotations; but in an industrial, stratified society, the case was quite different, for there Locke's highly individualistic, laissez-faire conception of government and his regard for property rights, could only check the development of social legislation and sanctify the accumulation of corporate wealth. Walton H. Hamilton [2] has pointed out that Mr. Justice Sutherland, in condemning as unconstitutional an act of Congress regulating the conditions of labor of women in the District of Columbia, revealed a train of thought similar to that of Locke; even an occasional turn of expression was reminiscent of the seventeenth-century thinker. Without laboring the point, or attempting to establish any personal influence of Locke, it is clear, as Professor Hamilton has suggested, that here we have a continuing stream of thought. This is only one of the indications that Locke's influence remained vital long after the period with which this paper has been chiefly concerned.

The "great Mr. Locke" in a real sense remained America's philosopher, in spite of all the competition of new ideas. And he remained America's philosopher because many of his concepts were useful to interests in the tasks at hand. Above all, it is plain that many of his ideas admirably suited the needs of the more dominant American interests. His philosophy was practical and yet general; it appeared to be liberal, without endangering the individualistic conception of social relations and property rights. Moreover, his essential philosophy had the merit of emphasizing specific facts rather than general presuppositions. In varying degrees this emphasis served both conservatives and reformers. Clearly, Locke's thought — religious, educational, metaphysical, and political — survived to the degree that there was work for it to do; and those aspects of his philosophy which were functional to the needs of ascendant interests were destined to have the longest history.

[1] Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York* (New York, 1919), pp. 249–50.

[2] *Op. cit.*

Notes and Documents

A SCHOOLBOY TRAGEDY AT WINCHESTER, *ca.* 1623

In 1623 a lad of eleven, Christopher Longland, was matriculated as a scholar in Winchester College. At some time before he was to have completed his training, he took part in a school play, a tragedy, in which he represented a character supposed to meet a violent death. In the performance of the play Longland, by mischance, was actually stabbed and fatally wounded.[1] One of his friends, who signs himself "H," wrote a poem expressive of his sorrow at Longland's death, a poem which is preserved in a collection of fugitive verse evidently completed about 1640, now Huntington MS 116 in the Huntington Library.[2]

Aside from interest arising from its subject, this poem claims attention as a specimen of that striving for "points" which marked a certain level of poetry in the seventeenth century. An earlier article in this *Bulletin* [3] discusses the development of this kind of poetry and relates it to the exercises in epigram-writing, and similar tasks of versification, carried on in grammar schools — and nowhere more thoroughly than at Winchester College. It seems almost incredible to a modern reader that the author of this poem, laboring over his puns, his paradoxes, and his antimetaboles, could have felt any grief whatever at the death of Christopher Longland. Yet there is abundant evidence which indicates that using such rhetorical devices and striving after "wit" were entirely congruous with a serious purpose and personal feeling.

[1] The sources of these facts are: (*a*) the poem printed below and (*b*) the following entry in Thomas F. Kirby, *Winchester Scholars* (1888), p. 170:

Longland, Christopher (11), St. Lawrence, Winton.
d. in College of a Sword wound.

[2] HM 116 consists of 90 small leaves, with writing on both sides, and numbered by pages. The events which form the subjects of topical poems in the collection occurred from about 1615 to 1637. A number of the pieces deal with Winchester College and Oxford University. Several, besides the one reprinted here, are subscribed "H," with a few subscribed "H H."

[3] W. Lee Ustick and Hoyt H. Hudson, "Wit, 'Mixt Wit,' and the Bee in Amber," *The Huntington Library Bulletin*, No. 8 (Oct., 1935), pp. 103–30. The authors of this article wish to note the following corrections: "George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham," on p. 105, should read, "John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham and Normanby"; and "Buckingham," on pp. 105, 106, 119, should read "Sheffield."

The poem follows:

[P. 75] On ỹ Death of Longland slaine in acting a Tragedy.

O let me weepe in English whole' denye
My Mothers Tongue wherin I learnd to cry
The Graecian Idiom fitts not all, their fiue
Affords no case like this sad Ablatiue
The courting period of a Spanish breath
Yeilds not persuasiue complement for Death
The french excludes most consonants and I
Must be a consonant in this wofull crye
Indeede ỹ fluent Latin may expresse
Our sorrows tide, ỹ ouerflowes no lesse.
[P. 76] Yet their Declensions are all designd
To' inuoke a fate ỹ cannot be declined.
Vnhappy wretch ỹ acts this dismall part [1]
That puts to Silence all ỹ Tongues of art
For what can Nature speake alasse this fall
Hath made her dumbe too, tis vnnaturall
How shall wee vent our greife? (o lets deuise
To wring a Language frō our blubbord eyes
Teach me to pen a sigh, ỹ euery line
May pickle vp a Mourner in ỹ brine
Of his owne teares, at least; lets be agreed
To weepe as fast as this our freind did bleed
Deare heart that was so serious in ỹ rest
Of all his lyfe, he could not play in Jest
O too too true Tragaedian twas thy task
To practize to be murderd & to maske
A Deadman on ỹ stage, Vnhappy strife
To act a lyfe of Death, a Death of Lyfe
But sure his Soule had still bene Chamberd in
Within his Body had his Body bin
Still in his Chamber, had her not drawne ayre
To quicke throughs new made mouth Id'e not dispayre
But that his one might still hau breath'd quick
Had he not sickly liu'd; that dy'd not sick
Had Heauens posture bene as Drowsy as
Was ours, or ours as wakefull as Hea: was
Doubtlesse he had (alass alass my greife
Sends me I know not whither for releife)
Hees dead, hees dead & all haue giuen him or'e,
Hees slaine, Ile weep, for I can write no more.
H

Hoyt H. Hudson

[1] In the manuscript there seems to be an "a" between "acts" and "this."

WILLIAM AUSTIN'S "NOTES" ON *THE FAERIE QUEENE*

THE manner in which William Austin (1587–1634) uses passages drawn from the second book of the *Faerie Queene* adds to the evidence that the early-seventeenth-century writers studied Spenser as much for his matter as for his art. Austin, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn and a benefactor of the Church of St. Mary Overy in Southwark,[1] is the author of two books, both published posthumously. The first, *Deuotionis Augustinianae Flamma, or Certayne Deuout, Godly, & Learned Meditations*[2] (1635), is a collection of prose meditations interspersed with occasional verse. The book ends with "The Authors Owne Funerall, Made vpon Himselfe," in prose, and "The Authors Epicedium, Made by Himself, vpon Himselfe." Several of the poems achieve a simple lyric sincerity,[3] and the book as a whole is more readable than the other work, *Haec Homo, Wherein the Excellency of the Creation of Woman is described, By way of an Essay*[4] (1637), which is a labored defense of women.

One of the "Godly, & Learned Meditations" in *Deuotionis Augustinianae Flamma* is entitled "In Festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli: An Essay of Tutelar Angels."[5] Beginning with the observation that the feast of St. Michael commemorates also the angels' protection of us,[6] Austin gives an account of the creation, nature, and orders of angels, and then turns to his principal subject, the work of the tutelary angels. Citing biblical authority for his belief in the guardianship of the angels, he works into one sentence of his text words which Spenser uses to introduce the guardian angel who watched over the exhausted Guyon after his ordeal in the Cave of Mammon.

[1] *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, *s.v.* "Austin, William (1587–1634)."

[2] A second edition appeared in 1637.

[3] E.g., the carol for Christmas Day, p. 52, and the meditation for Good Friday, pp. 117–18.

[4] Later editions appeared in 1638 and 1639. For the place of the book in the contemporary popular controversy over women, see L. B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1935), pp. 502–3.

[5] Pp. 243–57.

[6] For a history of the belief and of the feast, see *Catholic Encyclopedia*, *s.v.* "Guardian Angel" and "Guardian Angels, Feast of."

Wherefore, since *Man* is (here) made a *Spectacle to Men and Angels*, fighting against the *World*, the *Flesh*, and the *Devill*, (*strong Enemies*, and *weake warriours*) therefore hee hath *charged these heavenly Soldiers* to ayde us *militant*, against *their*, and our *common-Enemies:* and, to *pitch their Tents round about us*; like *Fellow-Soldiers*, fighting *one*, and the *same Quarrell*.[1]

Spenser writes, of these same angels, that they cleave the skies "Against foule feends to aide vs millitant," and "their bright Squadrons round about vs plant." Since Austin cites for one of these phrases a source[2] far more obvious than the *Faerie Queene*, these verbal echoes could be attributed to chance were it not that, a few pages later, he quotes Spenser's stanza in full, but without mention of its author.

But when wee *consider* it [the ministry of the angels]: and *see it is so*, wee may (in all *thankefulnesse*) well crie, with admiring *David: Lord*! *what is man, that thou art mindfull of him:* Or, *the Sonne of man, that thou visitest him? Thou hast made him little lower then* God; *for thou hast sent thy* Angels, *that attend on* thee, to *waite* on him? Nay *more*; even *thine onely begotten-Sonne*, to *die for him. O Lord our God*! *how excellent is thy name in all the world!*

> ———— *O see, the exceeding Grace*
> *Of highest* God, *that loves his* Creature *so*
> *And* all *his works, with* mercie *doth embrace*;
> *That blessed* Angels *he sends too, and fro,*
> *To guide* us, *where*; and *keepe* us, *when we goe.*
> *How oft! doe they, their silver Bowers leave*
> *To come to succour us, that Succour want*?
> *How* oft *do they, with golden Pinions, cleave*
> *The flitting skies, (like flying Pursevant)*
> *Againt foule fiends, to aide us Militant?*
> *They* for us *fight*; *they watch*; *and duly ward*;
> *And their bright Squadrons round about* us *plant.*
> *And all* for Love; *and nothing* for reward;
> *O why should heavenly God, to Man haue* such regard?[3]

Austin has altered the ninth line ("To serue to wicked man, to serue his wicked foe") to the reading of the fifth line of the above quotation, substituting a pentameter line for the hexameter and running the two stanzas together. At first glance it would seem that he

[1] P. 249.

[2] Psalms 34:7: "The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them."

[3] P. 255; the lines quoted are from *The Faerie Queene*, II, viii, l. 5–2. 9. To fit the quotation to his context Austin has made a slight alteration in Spenser's l. 5, with which he begins.

dislikes the epithets applied to man in the original line as much as Professor Legouis does.[1] But Austin is always conscious of man's weaknesses, and lists seven duties we owe the guardian angels to match the seven ways in which they help us.

Aside from this connection with the *Faerie Queene* by direct quotation, Austin's essay, a condensed and admittedly unoriginal synthesis of contemporary beliefs on the subject of guardian angels, indirectly provides an excellent commentary on the whole passage, at the beginning of the eighth canto, on the ministry of the angels in general and of Guyon's angel in particular. For Austin, Guyon's "particular angel" would not lack reality.[2]

But, a *question* hath bin raised; *Whether every Man have a particular Angel, from his Birth, assigned unto him, for his preservation and defence*; or no? I hope, it is *no errour* to hold the *affirmative* But, if it be; it is *an old one*, as may appeare in *Iacobs Blessing* (though *some* make *that Angel* there, to be *Christ*): and, more-*plainely*, by the *Disciples* that tooke *Peter*, for *Peters-Angel. But most* by our *Saviours owne speech:* That would *not have one of his little-ones offended*, [*Quia Angeli* eorum] because *their-Angels doe continually behold the Face of his Father in heaven.* To *this*, the *Greeke* and *Latin Fathers*, most *generally*, give consent. . . .

But, what needs *Man* to streighten himselfe in this Confidence, when the *promise* is made *in the plurall:* that *They shall be Angels over thee:* that is, *more* (*then one*) *for thee*, in particular, (according as *Gods glory* may be showne, or *thy neede* shall require). . . . So, wee may conclude; That, though we have *an Angel* assigned us in *particular*; yet, when God sees *best*, (and, as

[1] See Émile Legouis, *Edmund Spenser* (Paris, 1923), pp. 29–31; quoted in *The Faerie Queene* (*The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition* [Baltimore]), Bk. II (1933; ed. Edwin Greenlaw), pp. 270–71. (All references to Bk. II are to this edition.) Professor Legouis finds a contradiction in the description of man as the wicked foe of God, in connection with the virtuous champion of temperance, Sir Guyon. But Spenser, as he often does, is here using a generalization to introduce a canto; the connection between the wicked foe of God, of line 9, and the specific plight of Sir Guyon, is not as precisely stated by Spenser as by Professor Legouis. Man, even a good man, could be called wicked in different applications of the word — by original sin and by his comparative inferiority to the angels. The "falsetto note" which troubles Professor Legouis may be heard by the modern reader, but was inaudible to Austin and his contemporaries.

[2] W. J. Courthope (*A History of English Poetry*, II [1897], 286–87; quoted in *The Faerie Queene*, Bk. II, p. 270) finds the description of the angel in *F. Q.*, II, viii, 5, good poetry but poor teaching: "If Spenser were to be regarded, in the first place, as a moral and religious teacher, this description would be a mistake; for who could believe in the reality of such an angel?"

our neede shall require) a *whole host of them shall pitch their Tents round about us.*[1]

Also apropos is Austin's listing of the functions of the guardian angels, especially the following:

2. *Secondly*, They *direct and protect* men in *all their wayes*. (As the Angel led Israel); and, either *remoove offences* out of their path, (by *keeping away* Temptations); or, lift men *over them*, by *helping* them to overcome. . . .

3. *Thirdly*, they *comfort them that faint* in the way (as they did to *Eliah*) *bringing Bread and Water*: . . .

4. *Fourthly*, they *helpe them that strive* and are intangled in the way (as they did, to *Peter*) when *he strove in fetters*, and could not walke in the *path of his vocation* freely.[2]

In *Haec Homo*, Austin quotes extensively from *The Faerie Queene*, II, ix, for his description of the body of woman.[3] In this case he gives credit to "the *late dead Spencer*, in his *everliving Fairy Queen*," and adds in the margin, "Mr. Spencer dyed above 30 yeares agon." Much of this borrowing lacks special significance, but the use made of the famous twenty-second stanza of *The Faerie Queene*, II, ix, amounts to a note on that passage, and, as such, is an interesting predecessor of Sir Kenelm Digby's *Observations on the 22. Stanza* [4] (1644), generally considered the first criticism of Spenser. The stanza has occasioned the exercise of much ingenuity in the past three centuries.

> The frame thereof seemd partly circulare,
> And part triangulare, O worke diuine;
> Those two the first and last proportions are,
> The one imperfect, mortáll, foeminine;
> Th'other immortall, perfect, masculine,
> And twixt them both a quadrate was the base,
> Proportioned equally by seuen and nine;
> Nine was the circle set in heauens place,
> All which compacted made a goodly diapase.

[1] P. 250. Austin cites as references for the passages here quoted: Genesis 48:16; Acts 12:15; Matthew 18:10; Psalms 34.

[2] P. 251 (misnumbered 253).

[3] Cited by Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

[4] *Observations on the 22. Stanza in the 9th. Canto of the 2d. Book of Spencers Faery Queen. Full of excellent Notions concerning the Frame of Man, and his rationall Soul. Written by the Right Noble and Illustrious Knight Sir Kenelme Digby, at the request of a Friend* (1644). The essay is reprinted in full in *The Faerie Queene*, Bk. II, pp. 472–78.

Austin copies the lines in prose as the climax to a lengthy passage concerning the "form" of the "building" which is the body — in *Haec Homo*, the body of woman.

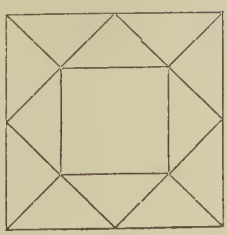
But, whether this *building* (for the *Form*) were *square;* like a *castle*, or *cornerd* like a *triangle:* or *round*; like a *tower*: or, like a *Roman* H. according to *most* of our *modern aedifices*, is partly questionable.

To this, must be answered; that it is made in *all the Geometricall* proportions, that are, or can be imagined: For, as all *Numbers* and *proportions*, for measure, (both of *inches*, *spannes*, *digits*, *cubits*, *feet*, &c.) are derived from the *members*, and dimensions of the *humane body:* so is also the *body* answerable to *all proportions*, *buildings*, and *figures*, that are. Not onely answerable (I say) to the *whole world*, (of which it is an *epitome*) but, for the most part, to every particular *figure*, *character*, *building* and *fabrick*, in the World.

As for example (to give a *light* of *some*, instead of the *rest:*) if the [line cut: figure of a woman with arms outstretched, framed in a square] *armes* be stretched *forth-right*, from each *side*, in manner of a *Crucifix*; the *body* standing upright; and the *feet together*; it makes a *perfect Square*. For, it is just so much *in length*, from the *one midle fingers end*, crosse over the body, to the *other*, as it is in *length*, from the *head*, to the *heele:* Which is a *just square*, in *Geometricall proportion*. Which was the *form* of the *Temple*, and of the *mysticall Church*, in the *Revelation*. Vitruvius, lib. 1, cap. 1.

Likewise, when the *body* stands in *that* form, draw [line cut: figure of a woman with arms outstretched and slightly raised, framed in a triangle within a square] a *line* from *each hand*, to the feet, and it makes a just *Triangle:* which is a *figure* of the *Trinitie*. Againe, let the hands [line cut: figure of a woman with legs straddled and with arms outstretched and slightly lowered, framed in a circle within a square] fall *somewhat stradling a little* with the *legges*; and then, the *extreames* of the *fingers*, *head*, and *toes*, make a just *circle*; the *navell* or *bottome* of the belly being *center*, which is a *true figure* of the *Earth*. Moreover, elevate the *hands* againe, so that the *feet* (stradling) may imitate a [line cut: figure of a woman with legs straddled and with arms outstretched and slightly raised, framed in a diagram[1]]: Saint *Andrews*

[1]



Crosse; and you may draw from this figure a true form of the *twelve houses* of the *seven Planets* in Heaven; All which *discourse* concerning the *severall proportions* of the body, are very elegantly and briefly contracted, by the[b] *late dead Spencer*, in his *everliving Fairy Queen*; where, coming to describe the *house of Alma*, (which, indeed, is no *other* but the *body*; the *habitation* of the Soule,) he saith. *The frame thereof seem'd partly circular*, and part *triangular*; (*O worke Divine!*)

(b) M
Spence
dyed a
30 yea
agon.

Those *two*, the *first* and *last proportions* are: the *one* imperfect, mortall, feminine; *The other*, immortall, perfect, masculine; and twixt them both a *Quadrat* was the *base*; proportioned *equally* by *seaven & nine*. *Nine* was the *circle*, set in *Heavens* place; all which compacted made a goodly *Diapase*.

Besides these proportions, which in the *Geometricall* art signifie things both *divine*, and *humane* (as you have heard;) there is scarce a *figure*, or character of a *letter*) in the whole *Alphabet* (which are the grounds and elements of all *Arts*, and *Sciences*, whatsoever) but may be aptly figured and expressed by some *Station*, *motion*, *or action* of the Body.[1]

Curiously enough, the earliest commentators on this passage (if Austin be allowed to share the honors with his more learned contemporary) divide along the lines of later studies. Austin reads the stanza as a symbolic description of the form of the Castle of Alma — that is, the body which the soul inhabits; Digby sees in the stanza an account of the mystical union of the soul and body — a puzzling interpolation in an otherwise clear allegory. Austin's general point of view seems more in harmony with the context, for the entire passage, starting with stanza twenty, is concerned with the allegorical description of the body alone. But, even if the point of view is sound, the details of this naïve application of Spenser's lines are certainly debatable.

After some ten pages of further description of the body of woman, Austin again turns to Spenser. He quotes (with an approval which the twentieth century does not share with the seventeenth) *The Faerie Queene*, II, ix, 32, 44 (8–9), 46–47 (5), and he refers the reader to Spenser's description of the teeth, in *The Faerie Queene*, II, ix, 26, which he omits for the sake of brevity.[2]

Linked by direct quotation with *The Faerie Queene*, both *Haec Homo* and the "Essay of Tutelar Angels" deserve a modest place in Spenser commentary.

[1] *Haec Homo*, pp. 75–81.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 94–97.

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